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ADDITIONAL MEMORIAL

TO THE

MANAGERS

OF THE

ROYAL INFIRMARY.

BY

JAMES GREGORY, M. D.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, PROFESSOR OF THE PRACTICE OF PHYSIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, AND FIRST PHYSICIAN TO HIS MAJESTY IN SCOTLAND.

Immensum reseramus opus; gens nescia veri
Ut residem longaque animum caligine mersum
Attollat cœlo. ———

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY MURRAY & COCHRANE, CRAIG'S CLOSE.

M, DCCC, III.

To Dr Andrew Duncan Sen

From The Author.

[illegible] Square 7th July 1[illegible]

[illegible] told a few months ago, that my very
[illegible]rthy friend, Dr Gregory, had expressed great un
[illegible]siness when he was informed, that I had sug
[illegible]tended the printing of a Latin translation
[illegible]t ancient Scottish Poem, the wife of Cluch
[illegible]muchty, because he considered such triff
below the dignity of a Professor. As a proof, [illegible]
[illegible]ctors will differ, although I admire very mu
[illegible]ch the judgement & genius, which he has d
[illegible] in this present publication, yet I own I am
[illegible]y sorry, that this second Philippic, a
[illegible] Bell, has ever seen the light.

the words of Juvenal.
Ridenda Poemata malo
am te conspicuæ divina Philippica fa
lveris a prima quæ proxima.
Andrew D

PREFACE.

NINE hundred ſuns have now gone down, without animadverſion from me, on certain publications to which my former Memorial gave occaſion; though ſome of them, eſpecially one entitled an Anſwer to my Memorial, written by Mr John Bell, at the requeſt of ſome of his profeſſional brethren, and afterwards adopted and ſanctioned by a ſolemn vote of thanks by the Royal College of Surgeons, muſt have generally been thought to require, on my part, not only a Reply, but the moſt complete and pointed refutation.

Appearances, I own, are much againſt me; yet I truſt I ſhall be able to convince every perſon who is intereſted in this diſcuſſion, and moſt chiefly the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, that I had never doubted of the neceſſity of replying to that publication, nor ever been guilty of any wilful delay in doing ſo.

From the firſt ſentence of the following Memorial it will appear, that it was not only written, but printed in ſuch time, that I expected it would have been publiſhed early in ſpring 1801: and an attentive reader will eaſily perceive, from the tenor of the firſt 130 pages of it, and eſpecially from many alluſions, and *dates*, and calculations founded on theſe, incongruous with the preſent time, that thoſe pages were printed in the courſe of the winter

1800 and 1801. But I found myſelf obliged very ſoon to alter my plan, in conſequence of the Royal College of Surgeons having engaged in a lawſuit with the Managers of the Infirmary, on the ſubject which I had diſcuſſed in my former Memorial: for I deemed it at leaſt indecent, if not ſomething worſe, to bring before the tribunal of the public, matters which were actually under the cognizance of the ſupreme Court of Juſtice in this country. Afterwards I found it expedient to delay, from time to time, the completion of the new plan which I had propoſed to myſelf; in conſequence of that maſs of lawſuits, which grew rapidly out of the firſt, or out of one another; and occaſionally brought to light many curious particulars, truly edifying in themſelves, and likely to conduce very much to my original benevolent purpoſe. On this account, the writing and printing of the following Memorial went on ſlowly, and at irregular times, for near two years. When at laſt I had the agreeable ſurpriſe of hearing that all thoſe lawſuits, which I thought might well have laſted two centuries, had been——not decided,——but quietly given up, after little more than two years of very ſpirited litigation, I found much remained to be done, indeed that the moſt important point of diſcuſſion remained untouched, to complete the plan of my Additional Memorial. In truth, the laſt 140 pages of it have been written ſince the beginning of February laſt. Theſe peculiarities, of its having been written at different times, and its having actually been in the preſs for two years and a half, will ſufficiently account for the many glaring anachroniſms that will be found in it: but as theſe do not affect the ſenſe, or mar the argument in any reſpect, it is unneceſſary to point them out particularly, or to endeavour to correct them as errors.

The general tenor of that Anſwer to my former Memorial, and the ſingularly auſpicious and wonderful omens under which it came forth, equally precluded all thoughts of allowing it to paſs unnoticed,

unnoticed, and without the moſt pointed reply. Without preſuming in the leaſt to call in queſtion the extraordinary merit of all the other writings of the ſame author, eſpecially of his controverſial writings, which I believe they all are to a greater or leſs degree, I do not ſcruple to ſay, that his Anſwer to my Memorial is his maſterpiece. I doubt even whether there be in the long annals of medical controverſy any thing *ſimile aut ſecundum.* It may fairly be regarded as a kind of caricatura, or extreme caſe, fit to ſhow in the ſtrongeſt light the genuine ſpirit of a medical diſputant. The ingenious author of it, in compoſing his immortal work, had ſome great advantages, ſuch as no medical diſputant ever had before, and ſuch as he himſelf probably will never have again. He appears in it, *not* as expreſſing his own ſentiments, but as a ſpirited and eloquent advocate in behalf of others; to gratify whoſe paſſions, or to promote whoſe intereſt, he has ſtrongly expreſſed ſentiments, not only with reſpect to me, but with reſpect to many other perſons, and many things, diametrically oppoſite to thoſe ſentiments which he uſed to expreſs moſt freely, and which were generally underſtood to be his own genuine thoughts. In the ſame good cauſe, he has, with equal boldneſs, aſſerted many things, new and wonderful, which he could have no reaſon to believe; many of which he muſt have known to be falſe; and ſome of which he, and all his clients, muſt have known to be impoſſible. Yet no perſon can be ſo irrational and uncandid as to think him, in any degree, anſwerable for the juſtneſs of thoſe ſentiments, or the truth of thoſe aſſertions, which he has expreſſed ſo ſtrongly. I dare ſay he would laugh in the face of any perſon, who ſhould underſtand ſo little of the joke, as to aſk of him to prove what he has aſſerted. As little, or leſs if poſſible, can any individual of his clients be required to prove thoſe aſſertions: for they are not the aſſertions, or avowed ſentiments, of any one of them individually, but only the ſentiments and aſſertions of a party, which employed one of their own number, with whoſe

character

character they were well acquainted, and whoſe high controverſial talents they very juſtly eſteemed, to plead their cauſe at the bar of the public. Never was a ſet of clients more fortunate in their lawyer, or a lawyer in a ſet of clients.

Poeta quum primum animum ad ſcribendum adpulit,
Id ſibi negoti credidit ſolum dari,
Populo ut placerent, quas feciſſet fabulas;

and that his fables pleaſed them perfectly, is amply teſtified by their vote of thanks.

Independently of all other conſiderations, the Philippic in queſtion would have been acceptable, and highly valuable, to me, as ſhowing indiſputably, how far a medical author can go in controverſy, with reſpect to the *facts* which he aſſumes and aſſerts, the inferences which he pretends to deduce from them, and the inveterate rancour with which he reviles his opponent: for I had had the mortification to learn, that many perſons had diſtruſted, and regarded as at leaſt exaggerations if not fictions of mine, the examples which in my former Memorial I had given of our everlaſting medical warfare: but now I have the pleaſure of diſcuſſing a genuine and very recent ſample of that noble ſpirit, which far ſurpaſſes, not only my former experience of ſuch things, but the utmoſt effort of my imagination.

In another reſpect, it was ſtill more valuable to me, and ineſtimable to the public: it ſhowed irreſiſtibly, and much better than I could have done, to the Managers of the Infirmary, and to the public, the urgent neceſſity of ſome ſelection among the Surgeons for the Hoſpital-duty, as I had recommended; and it even gave aſſiſtance in that ſelection, which I could not have done, by marking ſome of thoſe who ought moſt certainly to be excluded.

It

It would be arrant Quixotiſm to expect, that any remarks which I can offer on that publication ſhould make medical diſputants either wiſer or better; more correct as to their facts; more cautious in their aſſertions; more accurate in their reaſonings; more candid in their diſputes, or leſs virulent in their wrath. But perhaps even medical diſputants will learn, from ſo ſtriking an example, that the theory and practice of medical controverſy, however ſkilfully employed, will not avail in queſtions of plain expediency, of moral duty, and of common ſenſe. When, on theſe ſubjects, the ableſt diſputant aſſumes and aſſerts facts which exiſt only in his own imagination; well if there; when, from his aſſumed facts, he draws concluſions contrary to the beſt-eſtabliſhed principles of logic and the common ſenſe of mankind, overlooking other inferences the moſt obvious and indiſputable from the ſame facts, which are fatal to his own cauſe; he will ſoon feel, to his ſorrow, that there are teſts of truth, and modes of reaſoning, of which he never dreamed, and which he will find it in vain to diſpute.

And when ſuch a diſputant, on ſubjects level to the common underſtanding of mankind, endeavours to eke out his ſcanty facts, and to ſtrengthen his feeble reaſoning, by perſonal invective againſt his opponent, he will diſcover, ſooner or later, that in other games, as well as at cheſs, the bad play of one is the good luck of another; and the only good luck which he can expect to meet with.

To give ſome notion of the purpoſe of the following Memorial, and of the principal ſubjects diſcuſſed in it, it is neceſſary to mention the following particulars.

Very ſoon after my former Memorial was diſtributed, I learned that there was ſome ſurmiſe of its being ſomehow unfavourable or uncandid to certain living members of the Royal College of Surgeons. The ſurmiſe was groundleſs; but not on that account to be diſregarded. I was therefore at much pains to put an end to all ſuch ſurmiſes, for which a moſt favourable opportunity offered

at

at that very time, in the courſe of ſome correſpondence which Mr John Bell had begun with me, and in which he declared his genuine ſentiments, and his own reſolution, not to be concerned in any diſpute with the Managers of the Infirmary, but to leave the buſineſs of arranging the chirurgical department of the Hoſpital entirely to their deciſion.

To Mr John Bell, therefore, I addreſſed a long letter, containing the moſt complete and explicit diſavowal of all ſuch intentions on my part, and the moſt ample proof that no ſuch thing was in fact contained in my Memorial. Theſe things I begged of him to explain to his profeſſional brethren; over whom, at leaſt over one great party of whom, I underſtood he had much influence. Afterwards, when I learned that he had changed his mind, and was not only to engage in the diſpute with the Managers, but even to appear as the avenger and advocate of his profeſſional brethren before the public, I begged of him to communicate to them the whole of that letter of mine. When his admirable Anſwer appeared, with much aſtoniſhment and equal edification, I obſerved, that not one word was ſaid in it of our correſpondence, or of my complete vindication of myſelf from that unworthy conduct, which was ſtrongly imputed to me in the letter of his clients prefixed to his pamphlet; in which letter they requeſted his aid to undo and avenge the pretended wrong that I had done them. That ſtrange omiſſion in his very eloquent pleading I have taken care to ſupply, by printing the whole of our correſpondence on that ſubject, (page 34. to 78. of this Memorial).

On pretence of vindicating his profeſſional brethren from that pretended wrong which they were pleaſed to fancy I had done them, he has taken occaſion to revile me in a new and very maſterly ſtyle; unparalleled, I believe, in all the voluminous annals of medical warfare. Ignorance, falſehood, arrogance, malevolence, hypocriſy, of courſe made a part of the character which he has given me: but

all

all this or more might have been done by other authors. His ſuperior genius is diſplayed in diſcovering new topics of invective, and in the manner in which he has availed himſelf of them: my ſtature, my countenance, my dreſs, my writing Latin, my having carried arms as a volunteer, the amiable character of my father, my family-hiſtory for ſome generations, the number of my anceſtors who have been Profeſſors, all, all, are made ſubjects of reproach to me. From the account that he has had the goodneſs to give of myſelf, both body and mind, it is evident that I muſt be one of the moſt formidable monſters that ever appeared in the world. That I ſhould be entitled to take precedence of the Iriſh giant, is abundantly plain; but I think, without much vanity, I might be a better ſpeculation for a ſhowman than any rhinoceros or royal tyger that ever yet was exhibited.

This great liberality on his part I take very kindly of him: for I ſhould have been ſadly mortified to have been repreſented as one of thoſe pitiful little villains, whoſe peccadillos might be expiated by tranſportation for fourteen years, or even for life, to Botany Bay. But ſuch a monſter as he deſcribes me would never be received, or permitted to live, in that flouriſhing colony; leſt he ſhould diſturb the peace and corrupt the morals of its happy and virtuous inhabitants. A few remarks, which ſeemed peculiarly wanted for the better underſtanding and properly reliſhing that part of his Philippic, will be found between the 103d and the 109th of the following pages.

By a wonderfully happy thought, the more meritorious that it ſeems to be perfectly original and new, he has contrived to give myſelf as the avowed author of one of the moſt extravagant and abſurd fictions, which he has ſo freely and dexterouſly employed, in order to make me contemptible and infamous. The fiction itſelf is ſo abſurd, that no perſon of competent underſtanding and knowledge ever could believe it; but he has ſo preciſely and ſtrong-

ly aſſerted that I am the author of it, implying a plentiful lack both of truth and ſenſe in me, that I am convinced many of his readers muſt have believed at leaſt that part of his aſſertion. I have therefore thought it worth while to beſtow a few pages (from 169. to 180.) of this Memorial, to do juſtice to ſo noble a ſpecimen of controverſial eloquence and candour.

I have alſo beſtowed a few pages (121. to 141.) of this Memorial, to illuſtrate the full merit in point of fact, and the great rhetorical genius diſplayed, in his noble Philippic on my ignorance of ſurgery: an ignorance which he is pleaſed to ſay is criminal. To that ignorance, and to my applying to his profeſſion the rules and canons of my own, and ſuppoſing ſurgery, like phyſic, an uncertain and ſpeculative ſcience, he imputes almoſt all that I had urged in my former Memorial; taking care to forget that the ſtrong conſiderations and arguments therein contained are founded on thoſe very facts and undeniable principles moſt ſtrongly aſſerted by his worthy predeceſſor Deacon Kennedy, and *his* accomplices; on the faith of which their deteſtable bargain with the Managers of the Infirmary was made in 1738; and taking care of courſe not to ſee, or give his readers an opportunity to ſee, that in reviling me for my criminal ignorance of ſurgery diſplayed in my former Memorial, he was giving the lie direct to all that Deacon Kennedy and his friends had ſaid in theirs; juſt as much as he did in his own new and ſplendid diſcovery, (promulgated in his Anſwer to me), that a Surgeon cannot, like a Phyſician, improve by practice, but muſt be *perfect in operations before he preſume to touch the knife.*

In ſo great a rhetorical work as Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, the good old praiſe-worthy expedient of miſquoting my words, and miſrepreſenting my meaning, of courſe, was not neglected. One ſplendid example of this kind, which I have diſcuſſed (page 145.), ſeems to have been intended, and at leaſt it is employed, to give him an opportunity of reviling me bitterly for an offer which

I had made, the moſt liberal and candid that could be deſired or conceived. Some others of thoſe miſquotations, particularly one diſcuſſed (page 180.) and one conſidered (page 306.) and one conſidered (page 307.) ſeem to be intended for no other purpoſe, but juſt to ſhow how completely he can miſquote my words and miſrepreſent my meaning: but they are not on this account the leſs meritorious. The firſt of the three (page 180.) is ſo admirable, that it amounts to repreſenting me as having aſſerted a moſt notorious falſehood, injurious to my preceptors and colleagues in this Univerſity, and diſgraceful to the Univerſity itſelf: but withal diametrically oppoſite to the well known and honourable truth which I had expreſſed in the plaineſt terms: which terms he certainly knew, for he has uſed ſome of them; and he *could not* have miſunderſtood my meaning.

On pretence of vindicating the memory of the late Dr CULLEN from a pretended wrong that I had done to it, Mr John Bell has contrived to pay his compliments in a new and wonderful manner, not only to Dr Cullen perſonally, but to all the Profeſſors of Phyſic in this Univerſity; whoſe conduct in the examining of ſtudents, with a view to promote them to the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, he repreſents as the moſt abſurd, illiberal, and diſgraceful, that can be conceived: ſo bad indeed, that, if his account of it were believed, it would be almoſt infamous to obtain the Diploma of Doctor of Phyſic from the Univerſity of Edinburgh: nay it would have been ſo in the time of Dr Cullen, whom he repreſents as the author of that abominable but unheard-of mode of proceeding. That wonderful effort of rhetoric, which could at once vindicate Dr Cullen from *no wrong* and *no blame*, and completely traduce him and all his colleagues, I have diſcuſſed at full length (page 182. to 198.) in this Memorial.

Through the whole of his Anſwer to me, Mr John Bell has taken occaſion to trumpet forth the praiſes of his profeſſional brethren,

both in point of humanity, and in point of great and uniform ſkill and knowledge of ſurgery. Both of theſe topics one ſhould have thought, *a priori*, that it muſt have exceeded all power of the human face, even to have attempted. With reſpect to the firſt of them, their great humanity, and tender regard for the ſafety and welfare of their patients: the bargain which their predeceſſors made with the Managers of the Infirmary in 1738; the hateful means by which that bargain was forced upon the Managers; the wonderful publication of Deacon Kennedy and his friends, analyſed in my former Memorial; the violent conteſt of the Surgeons with the Managers near thirty years after, when the latter, convinced by ſad experience of the greatneſs of the evil which had been done, endeavoured, but in vain, to undo it; the conduct of the College of Surgeons only eight years before my Memorial appeared, when Dr Duncan made another fruitleſs attempt to get that ſad evil rectified; any one of theſe things might well have precluded all thoughts of praiſing the College of Surgeons on account of their zeal for the good of their hoſpital-patients: but as all of them put together have not had this effect, I have produced (page 142. of this Memorial) one little additional document, which *muſt be deciſive:* a unanimous reſolution of that Society, ſo lately as the year 1784, which I have good reaſon to believe ſtill remains on their records, that they would *not give the Managers an opportunity of adopting meaſures, which, however advantageous they might be to the Hoſpital, would be attended with eſſential prejudice to the intereſt of the Royal College.*

The other point, that of the great and uniform ſkill, and univerſally amiable and reſpectable character, of every member of their College, was at leaſt equally wonderful and edifying. Their profeſſional and perſonal diſputes, the inveteracy with which theſe were carried on, their implacable warfare, the ſingularly groſs and outrageous terms in which ſome of them had reviled their brethren,

thren, were notorious beyond all poſſibility of diſpute or palliation. Some of the monuments of theſe things were in print. One of them, too bad as I thought to be quoted in my former Memorial, I have taken care to print verbatim in this, (page 213. to 227.), illuſtrated with a very ample commentary, and a brief chronological view of their profeſſional warfare, which occupies full 70 pages, (from 227. to 296.). This I have thought it neceſſary to do, not only for the amuſement of the idle, and gratification of the curious, but for the vindication of my own veracity, which was ſo ſtrongly brought into queſtion.

For the ſame good purpoſe, I have been at ſome pains to ſhow, (page 269. to 283.), what a malignant influence their perſonal, profeſſional, and corporation diſputes, had on their conſultations and practice even in the Royal Infirmary. I had the pleaſure of obſerving, that the ſpirit of controverſy was ſo reſtleſs, and the habit of it ſo inveterate, that their very ingenious and eloquent advocate, when he was pleading their cauſe at the bar of the public, and maintaining moſt ſtrongly the perfection of their art, the certainty of their ſcience, and the uniform ſkill of all his profeſſional brethren, could not refrain from a profeſſional diſpute himſelf, with reſpect to one of the commoneſt operations in ſurgery; on which he choſe to differ from moſt of his brethren, and to treat their opinion, and practice, and even the inſtrument which they uſually employed, with the moſt ſovereign contempt. (276. to 280.).

Yet great as his merit has been in all theſe reſpects, it bears no ſenſible proportion to the aſtoniſhing powers of rhetorical genius, which he has diſplayed on two other ſubjects; both of which are deeply intereſting to the Managers and to the public. I have therefore diſcuſſed them both at full length in this Memorial.

The firſt of them relates to a very ſerious evil, which had often occurred in the Surgeons wards, and which I always underſtood

to

to have proceeded ultimately from the very improper mode of chirurgical attendance in them. From conſiderations of delicacy, which I am now convinced were not only needleſs, but injudicious, in my former Memorial, I avoided any minute deſcription, or even particular mention, of the evil in queſtion; contenting myſelf with alluding to it in the moſt delicate and cautious terms. I knew that my alluſion, general as it was, could not fail to be underſtood by every Surgeon, and almoſt by every ſtudent who had attended in the ſurgeons wards; and conſequently that it could eaſily be explained to any of the Managers who were not already acquainted with the ſubject to which it related. I knew that it was too great and notorious an evil to be either denied or explained away; and I did not wiſh to ſhock the public by any particular or unneceſſary knowledge of it. My object was to get it and many other evils reformed; not to make the Surgeons odious, or the Hoſpital itſelf horrible to the public.

Mr John Bell has thought and acted very differently. Far from imitating my reſerve and delicacy on that tender point, he has gone completely to the oppoſite extreme; has deſcribed the evil minutely, painted it in the blackeſt colours, and proclaimed it in all its horrors. For what purpoſe? it may be aſked. For no other that I can conceive, but what he has explained in one ſhort ſentence of his Philippic; namely, to transfer the blame of it from the Surgeons to the Phyſicians, or perhaps to the general conduct of the Infirmary, implying the moſt atrocious negligence on the part of the Managers. This point is diſcuſſed from 324. to 371. of the following pages.

The ſecond of thoſe ſubjects which he has treated in ſo maſterly a ſtyle, is the inſtitution of Clinical Lectures, read by ſome of the Profeſſors of Phyſic on the caſes of the patients entruſted to their care; for whoſe accommodation they are allowed by the Managers

two

two ſmall wards, ſeparate from the great wards of the Hoſpital under the care of the ordinary Phyſicians.

This inſtitution of Clinical Lectures has now ſubſiſted more than half a century; has been generally and highly approved of; has been imitated in many other places; as well it might be, for it is difficult to conceive any thing more innocent at leaſt, if not more laudable, in the management of the ſick poor received into an Hoſpital. Nay, Mr John Bell himſelf does not ſay otherwiſe; but beſtows the moſt extravagant praiſes on the Managers for permitting, and on the Profeſſors of Phyſic for reading thoſe lectures, and conducting the practice to which they relate: but at the ſame time gives ſuch an account of the nature and purpoſe of Clinical Lectures, and of the manner in which they are conducted, as muſt make the Profeſſors who conduct them, the Managers who permit them, and the Hoſpital itſelf, objects of indignation and horror to the public; at leaſt to all who believe what he has ſo confidently aſſerted. Long before his Anſwer to me came forth, I had the pleaſure of hearing much of the account that he was to give of the Clinical Lectures, which I underſtood was the part of his work on which he chiefly valued himſelf. My expectations of courſe were very high; but they have not been diſappointed.

That moſt ſplendid part of his Philippic I have diſcuſſed, as in duty bound, at full length, (page 372. to 512.) of the following Memorial.

A work of ſuch a new and marvellous kind, as Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, could not fail to be received with much aſtoniſhment, and ſome incredulity, by the profane and ignorant vulgar, who knew nothing of the ſpirit and inveteracy of medical warfare. Whether this incredulity was foreſeen, or only learned by experience, after the work in queſtion was publiſhed, and had become a ſubject of general converſation, I really do not know.

There

There was ſome ſecret hiſtory about it, which I never could get at the bottom of. But I know well, from many queſtions put to myſelf, ſoon after it was publiſhed, that it did excite both amazement and incredulity in a very high degree: and I take it for granted, that the author of it, and his clients, muſt have known much more of that than ever I did. At any rate, it is certain, that, in *leſs than a month* after it was publiſhed, Mr John Bell had the honour to receive the public and ſolemn thanks of the Royal College of Surgeons, for his Anſwer to me. If there had been any doubt, which I preſume there was not, of the intent and purpoſe of that vote of thanks, the uſe that was almoſt immediately made of it would have removed all doubt, and explained it completely. The vote of thanks was publiſhed in the Newſpapers, and actually made, repeatedly, a part of the advertiſement recommending the work to the attention and favour of the public.

Having preſerved a copy of that moſt precious and original advertiſement, I reprint it here verbatim, for the gratification of the curious.

" Juſt publiſhed, by Peter Hill, Edinburgh, and Cadell & Da-
" vies, and Longman & Rees, London; and to be had of Braſh &
" Reid, Glaſgow, and J. Burnett, Aberdeen, in one volume Roy-
" al octavo, price Four Shillings and Sixpence,

" ANSWER for the Junior Members of the Royal College of
" Surgeons of Edinburgh, to the MEMORIAL of Dr JAMES
" GREGORY, Profeſſor of the Practice of Phyſic, &c. &c. by JOHN
" BELL, Surgeon.

" This Memorial, dangerous to the character of the younger
" part of the profeſſion, and ruinous, in the opinion of many, to
" an Inſtitution which has long flouriſhed under the care of the
" Royal College of Surgeons, was compoſed with great ability,

" and

" and diſtributed with an unſparing hand, and with no ſmall ex-
" pence.

" It is from more reſpectable motives than the private gratifi-
" cation he might feel, that the Author of the Reply chuſes, at
" this time, to ſtrengthen his claims on the attention of the public ×
" and of his Profeſſion, by announcing the approbation of the Royal
" College of Surgeons.

" SIR,

" At the deſire, and in the name of the Royal College of Surgeons,
" I have the honour of returning you their thanks for the Anſwer
" you have compoſed to Dr Gregory's Memorial; and of intima-
" ting to you, that the College approve of the manner in which
" you have expreſſed their general ſenſe of the relation which ex- ×
" iſts between the College of Surgeons and the Royal Infirmary.
" ——I am, Sir, Your moſt obedient ſervant,

" *John Bell, Eſq; Surgeon.* " JAMES LAW."

" *December* 9. 1800."

" This queſtion, which is of national importance, ſince it re-
" lates to the education of Young Men in a neceſſary and uſeful
" Profeſſion, is now before the country, and to be tried in the
" Courts of Juſtice."

Much was implied in the original requeſt of one party of the Junior Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons to Mr John Bell to write an Anſwer to my Memorial: and much more in the vote of thanks to him, in the name of the whole Royal College, for that great work, which he had ſo happily accompliſhed; more indeed than can eaſily be expreſſed in words.

In the former, (the requeſt), it is evidently implied, that his clients frankly acknowledged his ſuperior and unrivalled talents as a medical author, eſpecially as a controverſial writer; that they ap-

 proved

proved and admired his peculiar mode of reaſoning, and that kind of eloquence in which he chiefly excelled; and that they ſeriouſly expected that ſuch reaſoning and eloquence, employed in anſwer to me, would gain belief, would ſerve their cauſe, and contribute to raiſe themſelves and their profeſſion in the eſtimation of the public. Into this ſtrange, or, as I ſhould have thought it, impoſſible miſtake, they fell, at the very time when their own attention and that of the public was ſtrongly called to the diſgraceful and odious ſpirit of medical warfare, of which, in my former Memorial, I had given a fair account, illuſtrated by ſome good ſamples, and a few gentle alluſions to the diſputes in which their Royal College had long been embroiled, and to the ſingular inveteracy with which theſe were conducted.

In the latter (the vote of thanks) was implied, that they were pleaſed with the manner in which their ingenious and eloquent advocate had executed the honourable taſk aſſigned to him; and that, even after they had time to read and maturely conſider what he had written, and to hear what others ſaid of it, they never once ſuſpected that, whether it were true or falſe, it was much more than enough, whatever might become of their conteſt with the Managers as a legal queſtion, to damn themſelves, and their predeceſſors, in the opinion of their countrymen. But ſuch is the ſingular and admirable nature of the argument in their favour, that it may well be doubted whether they be not, by their own approbation of it, as teſtified by their vote of thanks, precluded from the benefit of that alternative, or *dilemma*; and *ipſo facto* obliged to abide by the ſimple, and, with reſpect to themſelves, the moſt unfavourable ſuppoſition, that the aſſertions contained in it are all true, and by them believed or known to be ſo. Certainly no perſon, however well acquainted with the ſpirit and inveteracy of medical warfare, could ever believe, or think it poſſible, that a whole Royal College of Surgeons, or even the majority of them, legally

legally entitled to act in the name of the whole, ſhould deliberately vote their thanks to one of their own number for aſſerting, in their cauſe, and in their name, a number of things groſsly injurious to thoſe of whom they were aſſerted, unleſs the ſaid Royal College, or the majority of it acting for the whole, believed and knew that all thoſe aſſertions were true. This kind of adoption and ſanction of the aſſertions contained in the Philippic of their own avowed agent, is evidently implied in their vote of thanks as publiſhed in the newſpapers; eſpecially as the things to which thoſe wonderful aſſertions related, muſt have been perfectly known to all of them who had been educated in this Univerſity or in this city; ſo that there could be no *miſtake* about them. But further, by the very words of the laſt clauſe of their vote of thanks to Mr John Bell, teſtifying, "That "the College approve of the manner in which you have expreſſed "their *general ſenſe* of the relation which exiſts between the Col- "lege of Surgeons and the Royal Infirmary," the attention of the public was peculiarly directed to that part of his work, undoubtedly by far the moſt intereſting, the moſt marvellous, and the moſt atrocious part of it: and the ſame public was irreſiſtibly led to believe that the College of Surgeons, whoſe *general ſenſe* it expreſſed, fully vouched for the truth of every aſſertion therein contained. The contrary ſuppoſition, that ſo reſpectable and learned a body as the College of Surgeons had thanked Mr John Bell for aſſerting, as *their general ſenſe*, a number of things, all the moſt important of which they muſt have known to be *falſe*, and many of which they muſt have known to be *impoſſible*, could never be admitted, nay ſcarce thought of, as being at once almoſt incredible, and groſsly injurious to that Royal College. To theſe public and obvious conſiderations muſt be added one or two little fragments of private hiſtory, the authenticity of which, I preſume, will not be queſtioned.

That vote of thanks was given by the Royal College of Surgeons deliberately, after due conſideration and perfect knowledge of the ſubject, and in defiance of the full warning and ſtrong remonſtrances of one of the Fellows of that College, (by name Mr John Thomſon), who ſaw clearly how much was implied in it; though probably even he did not ſuſpect what an important uſe was almoſt inſtantly to be made of it. He earneſtly, but in vain, intreated them *not* to vote the thanks of the College for ſuch a work; and to leave it to thoſe individuals to thank Mr John Bell for his "*Anſwer*," who had employed him to write it, and who conſequently were the beſt judges of its merit.

Soon after, and repeatedly ſince, even ſo lately as when I was writing and printing the latter part of the following Memorial, I had the pleaſure of hearing, that certain Fellows of that College boaſted of that very marvellous and atrocious part of the Anſwer to me, not only as an admirable ſpecimen of ſuperior genius, which I acknowledge it to be, but as a thing perfectly deciſive and unanſwerable; ſuch a thing as "*I durſt not even attempt to anſwer.*" As to its being unanſwerable, or unanſwered, they are ſtill at liberty to judge for themſelves: but at leaſt they muſt own that I have humbly ventured to attempt to anſwer it.

The invectives ſo liberally poured forth againſt myſelf perſonally, and all the marvellous aſſertions with reſpect to me, very probably might have gone unanſwered, even to the day of judgment: for long before I read them, I had learned from good authority, that "He that walketh uprightly walketh ſurely."

The ingenious attack made on me and my colleagues, the Profeſſors of Phyſic, for our pretended unworthy and diſgraceful conduct in the diſcharge of our Academical duty, might alſo have paſſed unnoticed, on the old principle, familiar to us all,

Exilis domus eſt, ubi non et multa ſuperſunt,
Et dominum fallunt; et proſunt furibus.——

If

If our credit could have been ſhaken by ſuch an attack, it would not have been worth contending for.

But the malevolent attack on the management of the Hoſpital, in the account given of the cauſe of the bad condition and cruel ſufferings of many of the Surgeons patients, and ſtill worſe in the account given of the atrocious breach of truſt in the Managers in permitting, and of the Profeſſors of Phyſic in conducting the clinical lectures, could not be allowed to paſs unanſwered. It was written in a ſtyle, and vaunted in a manner, well calculated to make it gain belief, and produce a ſtrong effect among thoſe who were moſt likely to be hurt by it: for the probable injury to be apprehended to the ſlender funds of the Infirmary, by making it an object of horror to the rich, inſtead of protection and liberal encouragement, was the leaſt of the evils in view. The cruel wrong to the poor and unhappy, who might have occaſion to ſeek relief to their miſery under the roof of this Hoſpital, was by far the moſt ſerious conſideration. It was tearing from them their laſt hope and comfort in this world: for if they believed what they found ſo boldly aſſerted, and ſo ſtrongly ſanctioned, they muſt have ſhunned the Hoſpital as the worſt of evils; or, if driven to it by hard neceſſity, they muſt have entered it with ſuch ſentiments of dread and horror, as could not fail to aggravate their ſufferings, increaſe their danger, and often render unavailing all the ſkill of Phyſicians and Surgeons, and baffle all the powers of medicine.

As I ſhould have thought myſelf, ſo I preſume I ſhould have been thought by others, to have tacitly acknowledged the truth of thoſe horrible miſrepreſentations, and to have been an accomplice in the wrong that was done, if I had failed to refute them, when the means of doing this were fully in my power. But eaſy as this work might appear in one point of view, in another it was a matter of great nicety, if not of difficulty, and required on my part peculiar caution.

Such

Such marvellous and horrible aſſertions as I have had occaſion to conſider, would ſoon and eaſily have been diſcuſſed, if they had reſted on the authority of only one individual, however eminent in medical controverſy. A mere contradiction of them, one by one, and a requeſt to have ſome evidence of them ſtated, (of which there was not a veſtige in the publication to which I allude), might well have ſufficed, according to the common maxim of law and equity, *Affirmanti incumbit probatio:* and ſuch a ſimple contradiction and requeſt, would certainly have been much more rational than the undertaking to *refute* or *diſprove* thoſe aſſertions.

But after they were adopted and ſanctioned by the Royal College of Surgeons, that mode of proceeding was not to be thought of. I ſhould have ſtood in the diſgraceful ſituation, of affirming or denying, in direct contradiction, not to one individual only, but to many, or perhaps to a whole ſociety, every individual of which might be preſumed to know as much as I did of the matters in diſpute. The honeſteſt ſmuggler that ever appeared in the Court of Exchequer, let him ſwear his beſt, would hardly ſave either his ſhip or cargo, if a dozen or two of active cuſtomhouſe officers ſwore point blank againſt every thing that he ſwore: and a ſimple tide-waiter would find it difficult to make good his ſeizure, if in the ſame court he had to ſwear ſingly againſt a whole gang of honeſt ſmugglers. My experience of medical facts and medical teſtimony, long before I ſaw the vote of thanks, would have been more than enough to deter me from engaging in ſuch a fooliſh, diſgraceful, and fruitleſs conteſt.

In compliment therefore to the Royal College of Surgeons, as well as to their very ſpirited and eloquent Advocate, I have followed a very different plan; more tedious and laborious I muſt confeſs, but, I truſt, much more effectual for my purpoſe, as well as more reſpectful and honourable to them. Inſtead of merely contradicting, and requiring of them to prove what they had aſ-

ſerted,

ſerted, I have on every important point carefully ſtated my *reaſons* for diſtruſting or contradicting them. Theſe *reaſons* appear to me ſo ſtrong as *bona fide* to diſprove all the moſt important of their pretended facts. If they think otherwiſe, it will be eaſy, and I dare ſay very pleaſant, to them, to ſhow the imperfection or fallacy of the reaſons which I have aſſigned for diſbelieving their moſt confident aſſertions. They probably did not expect ſuch a patient and candid proceeding on my part: but they cannot take it amiſs; nay they cannot, without abſurdity and inconſiſtency, fail to be highly pleaſed with it. They cannot fail to ſee that I meet them fairly on that ground which they themſelves have choſen. As to the difference of the weapons which we employ; they have taken their choice of thoſe which they thought beſt for the purpoſe of attack: and I am well pleaſed to ſee them uſe ſo dexterouſly thoſe weapons with which nature has wiſely and liberally provided them;

" *Its proper power to hurt, each creature feels*;
" *Bulls aim their horns, and aſſes lift their heels;*
" *'Tis a bear's talent not to kick, but hug;*
" *And no man wonders he's not ſtung by Pug.*"

But they muſt excuſe me if I decline attempting to uſe the ſame weapons, which I am no more capable of managing, than I am of wielding the ſpear of Goliath, the club of Hercules, or the ſhield of Achilles. I truſt they will allow me to uſe, as it is merely for the purpoſe of defence, and without even the poſſibility of annoying them, the innocent weapons of plain truth, and fair, though ſtrict reaſoning.

They have taken care to expreſs fully and candidly, that is, Mr John Bell, in their name and with their ſanction, has declared explicitly (*Anſwer*, page 16.) their ignorance of logic. The truth of this modeſt and candid avowal cannot be doubted, as it is accompanied

companied with ſome unequivocal proofs of that lamentable deficiency: but if they are not alſo incapable of learning the firſt principles of logic, which I think they will hardly pretend that they are, for this would be equivalent to pretending that they are idiots, they muſt ſurely underſtand and admit, when they are pointed out to them, and illuſtrated by proper examples from their own publication, ſome of thoſe common principles of logic, of which I have endeavoured to avail myſelf. They ſurely muſt underſtand, and believe, that every propoſition, for example, every thing which they have aſſerted in their publication, muſt be either *true* or *falſe*. If what they have aſſerted be *true*, then I, and my colleagues, eſpecially the Clinical Profeſſors, and the Managers of the Infirmary, muſt be infamous and odious, and muſt all deſerve to be hanged. Of this I preſume they were fully aware at the time of the vote of thanks; but I doubt whether they were equally aware of what the conſequence muſt be to themſelves, in public eſtimation, that is in point of fame and fortune, for the reſt of their lives, if their aſſertions with reſpect to us are *falſe*, and ſhall be completely diſproved. Yet ſurely they muſt ſee this conſequence when it is pointed out to them; and of courſe muſt be eager to eſtabliſh, by the moſt convincing proofs, their original aſſertions, both for their own vindication in point of veracity and probity, and for the laudable purpoſe of convicting us of that baſe and atrocious conduct, which they have ſo boldly laid to our charge.

Whatever they may have known, or hereafter may chooſe to do, on that point, I am convinced they did not originally, and perhaps do not yet perceive another ſtill more dire dilemma into which they have blindly run, in their great eagerneſs to make the Profeſſors of Phyſic, and the Managers of the Infirmary, collectively, as well as myſelf individually, odious and infamous in the eſtimation of the public. But if they will attend fairly to their own aſ-

ſertions

ſertions and arguments, and to my logical commentary on them, they will find that the ſad dilemma ſtands thus. If their aſſertions are *falſe*, they themſelves muſt be infamous: this I preſume they will not diſpute: but if their aſſertions are *true*, they muſt be ſtill more infamous, and odious, and certainly ought all to be hanged; for their own conduct, and the ſhare which they have had, both paſſively and actively, in thoſe horrible atrocities: I mean not only for their guilt, in tacitly conniving long at ſuch things, but, ſtill worſe, for their active exertions in making them more extenſive, and perpetual; and even for repreſenting the worſt of them as things allowable and praiſe-worthy: a ſentiment which, to my utter aſtoniſhment, they have ſtrongly avowed in their Anſwer to me.

It is neither my buſineſs nor my inclination to help them out of that dilemma into which they have run. If this be poſſible, which I greatly doubt, they muſt do it for themſelves. I cannot even aſk of them to acknowledge the *error* of what they have ſaid of myſelf, of my colleagues, and of the Managers of the Infirmary: for ſuch an appeal to their candour, veracity, and probity, they would conſider, not as a compliment, but as a bitter ſarcaſm and inſult. I cannot aſk of them to prove their aſſertions with reſpect to us, or even to refute that evidence which I have given in contradiction of their aſſertions; for they cannot fail to perceive, that every ſuch attempt on their part would be an additional proof and illuſtration of all that I have ſaid of them, and their facts, and their reaſonings. I cannot aſk of them to acquieſce ſilently in my refutation of their marvellous aſſertions, without either acknowledging their own numerous and complicated *errors*, or attempting to prove and eſtabliſh their own *facts*, which I have preſumed to diſprove; for they cannot fail to know that ſuch ſilent acquieſcence on their part, in ſuch circumſtances, would imply that they felt, but had not candour enough to acknowledge, the truth and juſtneſs of all

that I have ſaid of them. I need not aſk of them to favour the world with a new ſet of facts, more wonderful and more atrocious than the laſt, and more injurious to me, and to my colleagues, and to the Managers of the Infirmary; for this they will do of courſe, if they think it poſſible that their new facts ſhall be believed, while their old facts remain unproved, contradicted, and diſproved. But they are heartily welcome to try the experiment. If any one of them, either ſingly, or in the name, and with the ſanction and vote of thanks of his brethren, chooſes to publiſh, in another pamphlet, or in the newſpapers, that I have been guilty of many acts of horſe-ſtealing, houſe-breaking, and highway robbery, that I was ſentenced to tranſportation for fourteen years, and am in danger of being hanged for returning before my time was expired; all which aſſertions are juſt as true, and as much to the purpoſe of their conteſt with the Managers of the Infirmary, and ſcarce ſo atrocious, as the moſt important of thoſe contained in Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me; they may be aſſured, that, far from being offended by ſuch a publication, I ſhall be highly gratified.

As far as my ſingle vote can go, they are equally welcome to pay their compliments handſomely to all the Profeſſors of Phyſic, collectively, in any ſuch publication: indeed I ſhould be ſorry if my learned colleagues had not at leaſt ſome ſhare of ſuch an honourable teſtimonial.

But, unleſs they can give ſome very good reaſon for endeavouring to make the Managers of the Infirmary and the Hoſpital itſelf objects of indignation and horror to the inhabitants of this city, I muſt humbly and earneſtly beg of Mr John Bell and his clients, to abſtain in future from all ſuch attempts; the injuſtice and cruelty of which, relatively to the poor and unhappy, I have endeavoured to point out. They are heartily welcome to ſuggeſt to the Managers, to the ordinary Phyſicians and Surgeons, and to the Clinical Profeſſors, whatever they think will be for the good of the

the patients, with reſpect either to medical treatment, or to the general management of the Hoſpital. I can have no doubt that the Managers and the medical ſervants of the Infirmary will faithfully attend to all ſuch ſuggeſtions; and do, as in duty bound, what they are convinced is beſt for the ſick poor intruſted to their care. But if, contrary to all reaſonable expectation, they ſhall fail in that duty, if they ſhall refuſe to liſten to any ſuggeſtions of improvement, or if they ſhall obſtinately refuſe to do what is clearly ſhewn to be right; then certainly Mr John Bell and his clients will be entitled to make their conduct the ſubject of the moſt public and ſevere reprehenſion.

Whatever regard they may pay to this requeſt, there is yet another which I muſt urge very ſtrongly to them, in full confidence that they will comply with it, as ſoon as they are aware of the nature and reaſon of it, and the importance of it to their own profeſſional brethren. It is only this, That in whatever terms they may hereafter chuſe to revile me individually, and my colleagues the Profeſſors of Phyſic, and the Managers of the Infirmary, collectively, and whatever facts they may chuſe to aſſert with reſpect to us, they will fairly and openly put their names to their own publications, and to any vote of thanks, or other teſtimony of approbation, by which they mean to ſanction them, and recommend them to the public. They will underſtand that I wiſh them to avoid uſing any ſuch general, collective, ambiguous appellations as that of the junior members of the Royal College of Surgeons, or even that of the Royal College of Surgeons, unleſs all the junior Fellows, or all the Fellows of the College, individually, concur in the aſſertions and ſentiments ſo recommended and ſanctioned. The *right* of the majority of the College of Surgeons to act for the whole, and in the name of the whole, cannot be diſputed: but it is at leaſt indelicate, if not worſe, for the majority of their ſociety to uſe *that* right in ſuch a manner as may be greatly and permanently

nently injurious to the minority, even in point of profeſſional and pecuniary intereſt; or to make it be believed that the minority had any ſhare in tranſactions and ſentiments, which they always reprobated as diſhonourable in themſelves, and diſgraceful to their profeſſion.

By the letter prefixed to Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, every reader, not previouſly in the ſecret, muſt have underſtood, that all the junior Surgeons concurred in that requeſt to him to anſwer my Memorial: but in fact SIX of them had no more concern in that requeſt than they had in the gunpowder treaſon. The caſe is ſtill ſtronger with reſpect to the vote of thanks for that Anſwer, which vote was publiſhed in the newſpapers. That vote of thanks, far from expreſſing the general or unanimous ſenſe of every Fellow of the College individually, probably did not expreſs the ſenſe, even of the majority, perhaps of very little more than a third part, of their whole number. To the beſt of my information and belief, twenty-nine was the greateſt number preſent at any of the meetings of their College about that time; of whom I am certain that FOURTEEN never did or could concur in ſuch a vote of thanks. The whole number of the Fellows of the College of Surgeons at that time, I believe, was forty-ſix: but of this number at leaſt a third part did not attend the meetings of the College, or take any concern in its tranſactions.

The wrong done, firſt to the minority of the younger ſurgeons, ſecondly to the minority of the whole Royal College, by the uſe of thoſe collective names, was groſs and glaring; and my remarks on that requeſt and that vote of thanks would have made the wrong ſtill greater, if I had not taken care to do juſtice to them individually, by publiſhing their names, (page 80. and 101. of the following Memorial), and teſtifying that they had no ſhare in the tranſactions in queſtion, and that conſequently none of my remarks were applicable to them. With equal eaſe I could have publiſhed the names of the *majorities*, whoſe conduct has given occaſion to thoſe remarks; but I refrained from that rigorous iron juſtice, in conſideration

ſideration of a well-known maxim, *Summum jus, ſumma injuria.* The conſequences of ſuch an expoſure might have been very ſerious to them individually, in point of fame and fortune, for the reſt of their lives; and what they and others might well have thought too ſevere a puniſhment for ſuch a peccadillo as theirs. But this is to be underſtood with a *ſalvo jure* to them: If any one, or all, of them ſhall chooſe to avow as their own thoſe aſſertions and ſentiments, for which they voted their thanks, and which I have taken the liberty to diſcuſs, I have no objections.

The ſituation of one gentleman, who concurred with the majority of the College of Surgeons in thoſe tranſactions, was ſo particular, that it is but juſtice to him to mention what it was, and to make an exception in his favour; more eſpecially as he is already gone from Edinburgh, with a declared reſolution of never returning to it, and conſequently has not a fair opportunity to judge and act for himſelf on the preſent occaſion. The perſon to whom I allude is MR FLANAGAN, an Iriſh Gentleman, who had not been educated in this city, and came to it between three and four years ago, an utter ſtranger, I believe, to every perſon in it, not excepting his own profeſſional brethren. But as he was a ſtranger, they took him in: he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh in the year 1800, and was the laſt who attended in the Infirmary on the ſyſtem of rotation. Before he left Edinburgh, which I believe was ſome time in 1802, I had the pleaſure of receiving from him the moſt convincing and gratifying evidence that he had formed an opinion of me widely different from that which he muſt have had when he concurred in the vote of thanks to Mr John Bell for his Anſwer to my Memorial. From ſome circumſtances which have come to my knowledge, I ſtrongly ſuſpect that he found himſelf equally miſtaken in the opinions which he firſt imbibed of ſome other perſons, and of ſome things in Edinburgh. It ſeems to me but reaſonable

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and juſt, *not* to hold him reſponſible for any thing contained in the "*Anſwer*," except what he chooſes deliberately to avow and take upon himſelf; which I ſhrewdly ſuſpect will be very little or nothing.

Laſtly, As to Mr John Bell himſelf, to whom I ſhould be peculiarly ſorry to do any injuſtice, and whom I ſhould not wiſh even to preclude from any of thoſe advantages to which he is entitled by his twofold character of advocate and party; for reaſons already ſtated, page v. of this Preface, and which will appear ſtill more clearly in the following pages, I have thought myſelf bound to conſider him in the capacity of an Advocate pleading the cauſe of others. That this is chiefly, if not ſolely, the caſe, is evident from his own declarations to me, from the letter prefixed to his Anſwer, and from the vote of thanks of his clients, teſtifying that he had expreſſed their general ſenſe of the principal ſubject diſcuſſed in it: and I believe, if he were ſo diſpoſed, he could eaſily prove, that many of the ſentiments moſt ſtrongly expreſſed in it are diametrically oppoſite to his own. But I have no right, and no wiſh, to obtrude on him that ſuppoſition. He is welcome to chooſe for himſelf, whether he ſhall be regarded only as an Advocate, implying, that he does not vouch for the truth of the aſſertions, and the juſtneſs of the ſentiments, which he has expreſſed with ſuch eloquence and force; or as a Party in the conteſt, implying, that he ſtill maintains thoſe aſſertions and ſentiments, that he ſtakes his character, in point of probity and veracity, on the truth of them, and that he *bona fide* undertakes to prove what he had ſo deliberately and ſtrongly aſſerted.

J. G.

ST ANDREW'S SQUARE,
23d June 1803.

A D-

ADDITIONAL MEMORIAL

BY

Dr GREGORY.

It was eaſy to foreſee that the Memorial, which ſix months ago I had the honour to addreſs to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, would be to the Jews a ſtumbling-block, and to the Greeks fooliſhneſs; but it was impoſſible ever to have dreamed that it was to have ſuch effects as it has actually produced; that it was ſoon to give occaſion to publications which would have done honour to the Royal College of Surgeons in Jeruſalem in the days of Solomon, and that it was to call forth arguments and anſwers, which neither Solomon himſelf, nor the ſeven ſages of Greece, if they had all been of his cabinet council, could ever have deviſed.

Very few of theſe publications require any reply, or any animadverſions, on my part; for not only thoſe which were intended to enforce and confirm my argument, but thoſe which were intended to refute and overturn it, tend almoſt equally to illuſtrate and eſtabliſh all that I had advanced.

But ſome of the writers to whoſe works I allude, have taken ſo much pains, and have done ſuch eſſential ſervice to my cauſe, that they

deſerve my beſt acknowledgments and thanks for their labours; and ſome of their lucubrations ſeem to require, as well as to deſerve from me, a few notes, explanatory, hiſtorical, and critical, which I can eaſily furniſh, and which it would be uncivil at leaſt, if not ungrateful, in me to with-hold.

OBSERVATIONS *on Mr* ARROT'S REMARKS.

Mr Arrot, one of the ſenior Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, has given the following *brief* account of the bargain between the Managers of the Infirmary and the Corporation of Surgeons in 1738.

" The practice of ſurgical attendance now exiſting in the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, has endured for no leſs than ſixty years. At its commencement, it was not lightly or raſhly adopted, but was the fruit of much deliberate negociation between different bodies of men in this city. Two Hoſpitals had been formed for the charitable purpoſe of affording relief to the diſeaſed poor in the neighbourhood. One of theſe Hoſpitals was under the management of the leading Members of the Royal College of Surgeons, and the other was ſuperintended by a number of gentlemen, who had been incorporated by royal charter. At that time, the chirurgical department of this laſt Hoſpital, was intruſted to ſix Surgeons, choſen by the Managers. As it was found, however, that the exiſtence of two rival Hoſpitals was prejudicial to the intereſts of both, a negociation was entered into, for uniting them into one eſtabliſhment, and was at laſt happily brought to a concluſion, in the year 1738, upon the following conditions:

It was ſtipulated, That the whole funds of the Hoſpital which was ſuperintended by the leading Members of the College of Surgeons, ſhould be transferred to the Incorporation of the Royal Infirmary;

mary; and that all the Members of the College of Surgeons, ſhould, when neceſſary, give their attendance to the patients in the united Hoſpital. And, on the other hand, it was agreed, that the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, in all time coming, ſhould not only permit this attendance, but that they ſhould not attempt to introduce any inequality or preference in the employment of the individual Members of the College of Surgeons, in their attendance on the Royal Infirmary."

Brevis eſſe laboro, obſcurus fio. Mr Arrot's account of that memorable tranſaction is ſo brief as to give hardly any notion, or at beſt a very obſcure, and imperfect, and erroneous notion of it, of the motives which led to it, and of the manner in which it was conducted. The two paragraphs quoted from his paper, contain nothing but what is true; but they do not contain the whole truth. They contain but a ſmall part, and, to the beſt of my judgment, the leaſt intereſting part of the truth.

For aught that appears in them, the Royal Infirmary and the Surgeons Hoſpital might have been coeval, or the latter might have been eſtabliſhed long before the former: The Infirmary might have been eſtabliſhed without neceſſity, in rivalſhip or oppoſition to the Surgeons Hoſpital; this oppoſition might have proceeded from the moſt unworthy motives in the founders of the Infirmary; from the moſt ſordid views of private intereſt; from perſonal malevolence and envy; from profeſſional rancour, or malignant corporation-diſputes; and the conductors of the Surgeons Hoſpital might have been forced to ſubmit to thoſe cruel terms which were dictated by the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, and to conclude with them a bargain diſadvantageous and diſtreſſing to themſelves perſonally, bad even for the charitable inſtitution which they patroniſed, and unjuſt to the ſick poor whom they charitably wiſhed to relieve. All this they might have been ſuppoſed to have done for fear of that utter ruin which the influence and exertions

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of ſo powerful a corporation as the Royal Infirmary were likely to bring on the ſlender funds of the Surgeons Hoſpital.

But ſomething very nearly the direct contrary of all this was the truth. The Royal Infirmary was eſtabliſhed on a rational, humane, and liberal plan, long before the Surgeons Hoſpital was thought of. This Hoſpital was eſtabliſhed evidently and notoriouſly in oppoſition to the Royal Infirmary, and for a purpoſe very different from what was at firſt pretended, but never believed; for as ſoon as that unworthy purpoſe was accompliſhed, the Surgeons Hoſpital was given up, and the ſick poor, and the charitable contributions of the benevolent, were allowed to go to the Royal Infirmary.

The bargain, notoriouſly and intuitively bad for the ſick poor, for whoſe benefit the Infirmary was inſtituted, was *forced* upon the Managers againſt their deliberate and better judgment, repeatedly expreſſed, and openly ſhewn, in the ſtrongeſt manner, by their conduct in the appointing of a few of the moſt ſkilful Surgeons to be ordinary Surgeons of the Infirmary: It was forced upon them in violation of their charter, and in repugnance to the common ſenſe of mankind, as ſhewn by the mode, adopted in all other places, of appointing Phyſicians and Surgeons to hoſpitals: It was forced on the Managers by an aſſociation of Surgeons; the majority, I preſume, of the Gentlemen of that profeſſion in Edinburgh: but if it had been done by the whole corporation unanimouſly, the caſe would not have been one jot mended. The motives of theſe Surgeons for what they did, were, in one plain word, *abominable:* neither more nor leſs than malignant envy and jealouſy of a few of their own profeſſional brethren, who, they feared, would, by their permanent attendance in the Hoſpital, acquire greater ſkill and manual dexterity as operators, and higher reputation, and conſequently more lucrative practice, than the many not employed in the Hoſpital. The means by which thoſe

Surgeons

Surgeons accompliſhed their purpoſe were *deteſtable*. They forced the Managers to ſubmit to their terms, not by ſhewing that their plan would be for the good of the patients, nay, not even by pretending that they thought ſo, for the contrary was irreſiſtibly implied, and almoſt expreſſed, in their own manifeſto; but by eſtabliſhing a rival Hoſpital in oppoſition to the Infirmary, and exerting themſelves to the utmoſt to procure for their own Hoſpital thoſe charitable contributions which otherwiſe would have come to the Infirmary: In ſhort, by endeavouring to intercept the very needful ſupplies, and thus to fruſtrate the benevolent purpoſe for which the Infirmary was eſtabliſhed. None of theſe overt acts, nor even of the motives from which they proceeded, can admit of doubt, or be explained away; the facts ſtand recorded in our minutes: the motives, happily, are avowed with little or no diſguiſe, by the Surgeons themſelves in their own printed Memorial.

Of all theſe things, ſo intereſting in judging of the queſtion at preſent in agitation, not one word is ſaid by Mr Arrot in his ſtate of the caſe: nor could it even be inferred or gueſſed from any thing which appears in his paper, that ſuch things had ever been done, or ſuch unworthy motives ever avowed.

Probably he thought it unneceſſary to dwell on things ſo unpleaſant in themſelves, ſo little edifying, ſo little to the honour of human nature in general, and of his own profeſſion in particular. Perhaps he thought the account which I had given of them ſo full and accurate as to ſuperſede all further diſcuſſion, or even mention of ſuch things, which certainly are *ſacro digna ſilentio*. But, if this was his meaning, he muſt have overlooked a very obvious and ſtrong conſideration; that his paper was likely to fall into the hands of many people who never ſaw mine, and who knew not one word of what it contained; and who had never even ſeen that admirable Memorial of the Surgeons in 1737, which I have had the honour to diſſect and anatomiſe. Such people muſt have been

been ſtrangely miſled, nay kept in the dark; deprived of all means of ſetting themſelves right, or even of diſcovering that they were wrong.

But I almoſt doubt whether Mr Arrot himſelf perceived the importance of thoſe things which I had ſtated ſo fully, and which he completely omitted. From the coolneſs with which he mentions the general tenor of the bargain, and from the very gentle terms in which he expreſſes that "it was agreed, that the Mana-"gers ſhould not only permit this attendance," (of all the members of the College of Surgeons), "but that they ſhould not at-"tempt to introduce any inequality or preference in the employ-"ment of the individual members of the College of Surgeons, in "their attendance on the Royal Infirmary;" it ſhould ſeem that he had not diſcovered the abſurdity, the injuſtice, the cruelty, the turpitude of ſuch a bargain. I can ſcarce think he underſtood by it, what it certainly means, and neceſſarily implies, that the worſt Surgeons in Edinburgh, indiſcriminately with the beſt, were in their turn to officiate as Surgeons to the Infirmary; and this either for ſo ſhort a time as to make it impoſſible for them to acquire any conſiderable improvement, or if for a longer time, ſo that they might improve a little, then with the certainty that they could never again act as Surgeons to the Hoſpital.

Suppoſing him to be perfectly convinced, that at the time when the bargain in queſtion was made (1738) all the members of the corporation of Surgeons were equally and perfectly qualified to act as Surgeons to the Royal Infirmary; ſuppoſing, further, that he is equally convinced that the caſe is juſt the ſame with all the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons at preſent; it is ſurely impoſſible that he, or that any man in his right wits, can believe that this will always be the caſe.

If all the preſent Fellows of that College were removed to a better world, their places would ſoon be filled by at leaſt an equal, probably

probably a greater number of gentlemen of the ſame profeſſion: and whether this happens in half an hour, or in half a century, it is the ſame for my argument: happen it muſt, ſooner or later. Sooner or later, all the preſent performers muſt quit the ſtage, and fifty, an hundred, two hundred others, will come upon it. Of theſe yet unheard of, yet unborn, Surgeons, ſome, probably four or five times as many as can ever be wanted for the duty of this Hoſpital, will be men of ſenſe, and knowlege, and ſkill in every part of their profeſſion, good operators, attentive, humane, and diligent in the diſcharge of every part of their duty, and withal, men of good tempers, and modeſt gentle manners, who live, or wiſh to live, on good terms with all their profeſſional brethren; and ready to give the moſt candid and patient attention to the opinions and advice of their brethren with whom they meet in conſultation. In ſhort, they may be every thing that the Managers could reaſonably expect, or wiſh, in Surgeons, for the good of the ſick poor in the Hoſpital, or for themſelves or their families if they needed the aſſiſtance of Surgeons at home. Such men will naturally obtain general eſteem and confidence, and will deſervedly riſe to eminence in their profeſſion. But it is *impoſſible* that *all* of them ſhould be men of ſuch talents, ſuch qualifications, and ſuch characters. It is juſt as abſurd to expect ſuch uniformity of merit among them, as it would be to expect that they ſhould all be of the ſame ſtature, the ſame complection, and the ſame features. The minds of men ever were, and ever will be, at leaſt as various as their bodies. Of the many individuals, who in the courſe of this century are to become Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, ſome will be half mad, and others more than half ſtupid; ſome will be groſsly ignorant of their profeſſion, of which perhaps they may never have learned any more than juſt enough to enable them to *paſs* at their examination; and even this little they may have learned by means of a Short Catechiſm, which

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they never underſtood, but only got by rote. Some ſmart lads may have had a good deal of knowledge juſt when they came out of their apprenticeſhips, nine tenths of which they may have forgotten in the courſe of five, ten, or twenty years, paſſed without ſtudy, and with little or no practice. Some may have excellent fingers and thumbs, but without brains enough to know when and how to uſe them; others may have brains enough, and theſe very good of their kind, who may be lamentably deficient in point of fingers and thumbs; ſome may be ſavages in their diſpoſitions, and brutes in their manners; ſome may be very fine gentlemen, minutely acquainted with all the moſt faſhionable cures for the faſhionable diſtemper, and perhaps well qualified to treat any common caſe of that moſt important diſorder, but withal of ſuch general character, habits, and conduct, that no perſon in his ſenſes would ever think of employing them for the cure of any other diſeaſe: Some, from real bad temper, or perſonal animoſity, and rancorous malevolence, envy, and jealouſy, others from mere vanity and arrogance, may live in a ſtate of open warfare, or, what is worſe, of ſecret enmity, with many or all of their profeſſional brethren, ſeeking every opportunity to undermine them, to ſupplant them, to thwart them in their practice, to cenſure, expoſe, and miſrepreſent every thing that they ſay or do: Some may be drunk every evening with punch, and others every morning with brandy; and ſome may not be quite ſober at noon.

If it were propoſed to give to ſuch undeſerving members of the Royal College of Surgeons, excluſively, the right of attending and operating in the Hoſpital, expreſsly ſetting aſide all the men of merit of their profeſſion; all deliberate conſiderations of the injuſtice, the cruelty, and the atrocity of ſuch a ſcheme, would be loſt in the obvious thought of the extravagant inſanity of which it would be regarded as a deciſive proof. Yet, whatever is abſurd, unjuſt, and cruel in it, is juſt as bad, on the plan of indiſcriminate rotation, to thoſe unfortunate

unfortunate patients who happen to be in the Hoſpital when ſuch men attend in it, as if no others ever attended, and is in no degree compenſated to ſuch patients, by the undiſputed merit of all the other members of the Royal College of Surgeons.

Yet ſuch is the force of habit, and ſuch the influence of plauſible words, that all theſe ſtrong conſiderations, obvious and undeniable as they are, ſeem to have completely eſcaped the notice of Mr Arrot, even when deliberately writing and printing on the ſubject.

Though he was not perſonally concerned in the tranſaction of 1738, nor (probably) in the violent and long diſpute between the Managers and the Surgeons about it thirty years afterwards; and though, from his long ſtanding and eſtabliſhed character in his profeſſion, he can have no private intereſt in preſerving that odious ſyſtem; he yet contends for it with great warmth and eloquence, only propoſing ſome new modifications of it, the advantages of which modifications I have not the honour to underſtand.

He ſeems to think that there was ſomething honourable, and generous, public-ſpirited, and benevolent to their brethren, in the conduct of thoſe who forced the Managers of the Infirmary to make that cruel bargain; and with all the fire and all the pathetic eloquence of a Roman patriot, he exhorts his brethren of the preſent day manfully to contend to the utmoſt for their ſacred rights. He has expreſſed, in plain and humble proſe, what long ſince was better expreſſed in heroic verſe;

Remember, O my friends, the laws, the rights,
The generous plan of power, delivered down
From age to age by your renowned forefathers,
So dearly bought, the price of ſo much blood.
O let it never periſh in your hands,
But piouſly tranſmit it to your children!

I muſt acknowledge my obligations to Mr Arrot, for the trouble he has taken to ſet me right as to the particulars of what paſſed, and even as to the number of perſons who were preſent, at that grand conſultation of Surgeons in the Royal Infirmary, which I have mentioned in my Memorial, (Page 197, 198, 199.), in what Mr Arrot is pleaſed to call ſuch ludicrous terms.

In the firſt place, I am obliged to him for thus vouching for me that there really was ſuch a conſultation; for I ſhould not have been in the leaſt ſurpriſed, if ſome wiſeacres had taken it into their noble heads that the account which I gave of it was altogether a fiction of my own; juſt as ſome others, in their great wiſdom, have been pleaſed to think of the account which I gave of our everlaſting medical warfare; of the two hundred years war about bleeding from the one arm or the other in a pleuriſy; of the furious diſpute among the London Doctors about purging in the ſecondary fever of the ſmall-pox; and of many other of our bitter diſputes.

No men of ſenſe can juſtly be blamed for being ſlow and unwilling to believe that any men not abſolutely inſane ſhould ever have engaged or perſevered in ſuch abſurd diſputes, or ſhould have conducted them in ſo abſurd a manner. If only one half of what I have heard be true, ſome medical gentlemen, who ought to have known better, have falleninto that honourable miſtake.

For the ſatisfaction of all ſuch diſtruſtful and ignorant readers, I beg leave to declare once for all, that every thing which, either in my former Memorial or in this, is ſtated as a matter of fact, is true, to the beſt of my knowledge, information, and belief. Of the juſtneſs of my obſervations and reaſonings founded on thoſe facts, every perſon is entitled, and is heartily welcome, to judge for himſelf. As to the particular controverſies to which I here allude, if any gentleman, whether of the medical profeſſion or not, has any further curioſity or diſtruſt about them, and will apply to

me,

me, I engage to ſhow him complete authority for all that I have ſaid of them, and to refer him to the original authors, in whom he will find the whole detail of that nonſenſe which I have mentioned but briefly, and in general terms. My account of it appears ludicrous, and to ſome people incredible, only becauſe I have brought ſo many choice ſpecimens together, and arranged them on a new plan, and in ſuch a manner that they all tend ſtrongly to illuſtrate one another, and to eſtabliſh that general principle according to which they are arranged. This purpoſe they anſwer ſo well, that they almoſt appear to have been contrived expreſsly for it.

Mr Arrot is well qualified to vouch for the reality of that conſultation, by much the moſt formidable that ever I witneſſed; for he was preſent at it, and, what is curious, he was on my ſide, and the only perſon that was ſo. Both theſe circumſtances I had either forgotten, or, more probably, had never known. The truth is, I came in upon them *in mediis rebus*, that is, when they were in the middle of their conſultation, and my poor patient in the middle of them. Mr Arrot, however, cannot be miſtaken as to his having been of the conſultation, and having differed in opinion from all his brethren, and from Dr Monro, and having agreed with me—which is very flattering to me. I can vouch for the facts, that Dr Monro was there, and that he was againſt me, to my very great mortification; for, though I do not profeſs never to differ in opinion from Dr Monro, yet I am always ſorry when it happens; and I have the vanity to think that it happens very ſeldom. But, till I read Mr Arrot's paper, I never knew, nor ſuſpected, that Dr Monro's opinion had ſuch weight or authority with the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, as to make them implicitly adopt his ſentiments, or even agree with one another on any one point. On the contrary, from all that I had ever ſeen or heard, I ſhould rather have expected from it the very oppoſite effect.

As Mr Arrot remembers ſo well that curious ſcene, I ſhould beg of him, the firſt day that he has leiſure, to ſtep in to Archer's Hall, and look at the picture of Daniel in the den of lions, (which is an excellent copy of the famous picture by Rubens at Hamilton), and then ſay whether the likeneſs be not very ſtriking, I mean particularly the likeneſs in face and perſon between the prophet and the patient; for as to the likeneſſes between the individual lions and certain Surgeons who flouriſhed here at the time of that conſultation, (ſome fifteen or twenty years ago, I ſuppoſe), they certainly are much leſs perfect. But I have no doubt that a man of a quick eye, and ſome imagination, and competent knowledge of the phyſiognomies and *coſtume* of the Royal College of Surgeons at that time, may even yet find out ſome of them, and give to ſeveral grim members of that tremendous conſultation " a local habitation " and a name," with much plauſibility of conjecture; it being underſtood always as a fixed general principle, that the lioneſſes, who have no mane, repreſent the *crops*, while the male lions, with their majeſtic manes, very properly repreſent the graver and more awful members of the Royal College of Surgeons, who wore long hair or great wigs.

It happens, however, ſomewhat unaccountably, that while we agree perfectly as to the general facts, that there was ſuch a conſultation, and with ſuch a reſult as I have mentioned; nay, while we agree as to ſome of the more minute particulars of it, we yet differ materially as to the number of Surgeons who were preſent. Mr Arrot ſays, that, " to the beſt of his recollection, the perſons " preſent amounted to twelve or fourteen." To the beſt of my remembrance and judgment, I ſhould rather think there had been twelve or fourteen perſons between the door and the middle of the room, juſt oppoſite to the fire-place, farther than which I did not penetrate. But even to get ſo far I was obliged to ſqueeze and

ſhuffle

ſhuffle through the crowd; and ſo far as I could ſee, by faint candle-light, the inner part of the room, including both the corner directly oppoſite, and the one diagonally oppoſite to the door, appeared equally crowded. I am ſure there were ſeveral faces there the names of which I did not know, and which I was not accuſtomed to ſee there, and probably had never ſeen before. Then Mr Arrot ſhould conſider, that twelve or fourteen perſons do not give the appearance of a crowd, and, in fact, are no uncommon number in that room. Though probably I have not been quite ſo often as he has been in that conſulting room, yet I am ſure I have been in it more than two thouſand times, often enough, I preſume, to know tolerably well what is, or rather what was, the uſual complement of perſons in it. The two ordinary phyſicians, with each his clerk, the clinical profeſſor, with his two clerks, the apothecary or his aſſiſtant, or perhaps both, attending with their reports, one or two, or perhaps more, military ſurgeons (garriſon or regimental) come to enquire about their men, the ordinary ſurgeon, and his aſſiſtant, and his clerk (or houſe-ſurgeon), and a ſnug little conſultation of only three or four other Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, ſuch as uſed often to aſſemble, without any particular ſummons, juſt to conſult about the weather, and the news, medical or political, and the ſtate of the nation, according to my arithmetic, make fully twelve or fourteen perſons; and ſuch a number, I think, could ſcarce have appeared to me any way extraordinary. On occaſions when a conſultation, even an ordinary one, was ſummoned, I am pretty ſure that I have ſeen at leaſt twelve or fourteen Surgeons in the conſulting room, and that this was not at all extraordinary. But the conſultation in queſtion was called as a very extraordinary one, as appears by Dr Monro having been ſummoned to it, and by its being known in a few hours to ſo great a number of ſtudents. It was underſtood, by miſtake, in conſequence of ſome impropriety of expreſſion in me or my clerk, to be a conſultation on a moſt extra-

ordinary

ordinary and urgent caſe, which could admit of no delay, as appeared by its being held in the evening by candle-light; and I believed at that time, and am ſtill very much inclined to believe, that all, or almoſt all, who had a right to be in the conſulting room, and all who, without any ſuch right, had intereſt, or acquaintance, or dexterity enough to get themſelves ſqueezed into it, were there bodily preſent.

Theſe things I mention only to ſhow that there was no wilful exaggeration or miſrepreſentation in the account which I gave of that adventure; for as I did not count the perſons preſent, and doubt whether I could have counted them, I can have no pretenſions to put my vague notion of a great crowd there aſſembled, in competition with Mr Arrot's more preciſe eſtimate of twelve or fourteen perſons being preſent.

With reſpect to my general argument and concluſion, nay even with reſpect to that individual example and illuſtration, it is perfectly indifferent whether there were twelve *or* fourteen, or twelve *and* fourteen, or twelve times fourteen perſons preſent at that memorable conſultation. It certainly was a numerous one; the reſult of it was "a very harmleſs but inſignificant preſcription;" and the patient died accordingly.

Mr Arrot moſt judiciouſly obſerves, "I ſhould account it very "bad logic to conclude, that majorities muſt always be wrong, "becauſe I have ſometimes happened to be in a minority." This is unqueſtionably right; but I do not think him equally right or equally fortunate in another obſervation or maxim, which he has expreſſed in the preceding part of the ſame ſentence, in theſe words; "I am ſatisfied that in the multitude of *counſel* there is *wiſdom*." I ſhould ſcarce have underſtood to what he alluded, if I had not occaſionally heard ſeveral other perſons quote the ſame unlucky maxim, and moſt heretically pretend that Solomon, the wiſeſt of men, was the author of it. But he was too wiſe a man, and too well acquainted

quainted with mankind, and with the folly of a vaſt majority of them, ever to have entertained ſuch an opinion.

As a ſmall acknowledgment for the kindneſs which Mr Arrot has ſhewn to me, I ſhall beg leave to ſet him right on that important point. I do not mean to inſinuate, that he has wilfully miſrepreſented the text of ſcripture, in order to favour thoſe multitudinous and ill-aſſorted conſultations of Surgeons which I reprobate, and for which he contends; nor yet that he has preſumptuouſly endeavoured to improve on the wiſdom of Solomon. But as that heterodox reading of an important text is likely to have very bad conſequences, and, far from being peculiar to Mr Arrot, is but too common among many well-meaning people, I ſuſpect that their miſtake proceeds from their being all provided with ſome erroneous edition of the Bible, probably the very one which contained the unlucky commandment, "Thou *ſhalt* commit adultery," inſtead of the genuine reading, "Thou ſhalt *not* commit adultery." That erroneous edition of the Bible, I believe, was publiſhed in the time of Charles I. and has been in great requeſt ever ſince, eſpecially among people of faſhion. To this circumſtance Mr Addiſon, who certainly was a competent judge of the ſubject, attributes the alarming frequency of conjugal infidelity among them in his time; and therefore exhorts them to provide themſelves with a correct edition of the Bible, as I now moſt earneſtly exhort Mr Arrot to do. When he has provided himſelf accordingly, or even has got a correct edition of the Proverbs of Solomon, which may be had ſeparately, he may read the latter part of the ſixth verſe of the twenty-fourth chapter of them, and he will ſoon be convinced that Solomon's maxim, of the truth and juſtneſs of which there can be no doubt, was, that "In the multitude of *counſellors* there is *ſafety*."

The meaning of the maxim is plain. If a multitude of counſellors, or the majority of them, ſhall chance to agree in what is right, there is ſafety to all concerned; to thoſe who conſult together, and to thoſe

thoſe about whom they conſult; and, by the courteſy of England, and of moſt other countries, the counſellors, in ſuch caſes, though perhaps very undeſervedly, will have the credit of wiſdom. But, on the other hand, if the multitude of counſellors, unanimouſly, or by a majority, go wrong in their advice, which is always poſſible, and generally probable, foraſmuch as wiſe men are very ſeldom the majority of any multitude, and fools are always the moſt noiſy, moſt petulant, and moſt obſtinate, the perſon about whom they conſult may ſee to himſelf as he beſt can; all his counſellors, at leaſt, are perfectly ſafe, for no one of them can reaſonably be blamed or puniſhed for the judgment and counſel of the reſt.

On this undeniable principle, which, however, it appears that Mr Arrot did not underſtand, when a General has no ſtomach for fighting, and apprehends ſome danger of being caſhiered at leaſt, if not ſomething worſe, if he do not obey his orders, he calls a council of war, the more numerous the better. The multitude of counſellors, of courſe, determines unanimouſly that a living dog is better than a dead lion, which, being the opinion of Solomon, is probably a wiſe one; but be it wiſe or fooliſh, the General and his multitude of counſellors are juſt as ſafe as if they had been dining with my Lord Mayor, or dancing at court.

Our Sovereign has the good fortune to have more than an hundred privy counſellors, of whoſe wiſdom there can be no doubt. There is alſo perfect ſafety in that number of counſellors; for in general he conſults with very few of them, perhaps ſix or ſeven at the utmoſt; and when a greater number of them is conſulted, it is underſtood to be done, not for the ſake of greater wiſdom, but purely for the ſake of that greater ſafety which nothing but a multitude of counſellors can inſure.

The only King, or I believe I may ſay the only perſon, King or Subject, that ever I heard of, who contrived to find not only ſafety but very ſolid advantage to himſelf in a multitude of counſellors, and

alſo

alſo uniform wiſdom in them, was FREDERICK the Great, King of Pruſſia. He was indeed a very extraordinary man, and though not juſt a ſecond Solomon, certainly a very wiſe prince; as plainly appeared by the way in which he ſelected his privy counſellors, and by the uſe which he made of them. It is ſaid he had more privy counſellors (Conſeillers d'Etat) than any Sovereign in Europe, perhaps more than all of them put together: at leaſt it was not his fault if he had not; for he made every body that choſe one of his privy counſellors; I mean, every body that choſe to pay for it; and he took care that no body ſhould have that honour without paying ſwingingly for it. Of courſe, he had complete evidence of the vaſt wiſdom, and the perfect equality of wiſdom, of all his privy counſellors; and as to his own ſafety among ſuch a multitude of counſellors, in addition to that ſecurity which reſulted from their uniform wiſdom, he took a ſtill more deciſive precaution; he never conſulted any of them, ſo that it was literally impoſſible for them to do him any harm. But he had their money, which was juſt what he wanted; and they had *otium cum dignitate*, which was all that they wanted, or that they were fit for; ſo every body was pleaſed. Then, one evident advantage of this admirable ſyſtem was, that five hundred of the greateſt blockheads that ever Germany produced would have ſerved his purpoſe juſt as well, and been really as good privy counſellors to him, as five hundred of the greateſt ſtateſmen and orators that ever puzzled their brains, or ſtrained their throats, in the neighbourhood of Weſtminſter Hall.

Solomon himſelf, if he had lived to ſee ſuch a King, and ſuch a privy council, would have acknowledged for once that there was ſomething new under the ſun; and that, in one caſe at leaſt, in the multitude of counſellors there was wiſdom, as well as ſafety.

If all the hoſt of Surgeons that Edinburgh, or Scotland, or Europe contains, were ambitious of the honourable title of Surgeons to this Infirmary, and were ſo wiſe and liberal as to pay but ten guineas

each for their patents, and were diſcreet enough to be content with the honour, and not to inſiſt on coming there to conſult, and debate, and harangue, and diſpute, and operate, and criticiſe; and were humane enough not to inſiſt on doing miſchief where they could do no good, and to leave the buſineſs to a few of their number, ſelected by the Managers for that purpoſe; they ſhould all have my hearty vote for being Surgeons to the Royal Infirmary, from the day of their baptiſm to that of their death. But as long as they all, young and old, wiſe and fooliſh, drunk and ſober, good, bad, and indifferent, inſiſt upon attending, each in his turn, to have his cut, and all to join in conſultation, and on ſuch occaſions to be taken by tale not by weight, (*numerandi non ponderandi*), and while the Managers individually could not without horror think of ſuch a tremendous multitude of counſellors for themſelves and their families, I muſt continue to think that the Managers can have no excuſe, and are really guilty of a breach of truſt, if they do not exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to avert ſo horrible a calamity from the ſick poor who are entruſted to their care.

I have no doubt that Frederick the Great would with leſs fear have led his troops in perſon to the attack in twenty pitched battles, than he would have truſted his royal perſon to a conſultation of twenty, or even twelve or fourteen Surgeons. I doubt whether Solomon himſelf would have had courage to venture himſelf in ſuch a multitude of ſuch counſellors. Though he was not ſo great a ſoldier, he was a bolder man than Frederick, as appears by his having ventured on ſeven hundred wives, while Frederick would ſcarce venture on one; and I muſt own I regard Solomon's conduct in that reſpect as a proof rather of his high courage than of his ſuperior wiſdom. But no body ſurely ever heard of his having entruſted his perſon to a conſultation of even the ſeventieth part of ſeven hundred Surgeons; nor do I believe that he could have entertained ſuch an irrational thought, even in the delirium of a fever.

If

If ever ſuch a multitude of terrible counſellors was aſſembled about him, I ſhould think it muſt have been done, without his knowledge, by one of his wives, who being tired of the ſeven hundredth part of a huſband, had tried that expedient, a very fair and promiſing one I muſt confeſs, to get rid of it.

To Mr Arrot's unlucky miſtake about that important text which I have thus endeavoured to explain and illuſtrate, not to any malevolent intention towards my honoured preceptor and colleague, I muſt attribute his ſtrange violation of the genuine maxim of Solomon, and the unwarrantable, perhaps even injurious freedom, that he has uſed with the name of Dr Monro. I knew, as well as Mr Arrot did, that Dr Monro was of that conſultation, and that he differed in opinion from me; but I never ſhould have dreamed of mentioning theſe things. It is contrary to the very ſpirit and purpoſe of a conſultation to make any individual anſwerable for the reſult of it, as in this caſe he has moſt unjuſtifiably, I mean without neceſſity and without excuſe, done with reſpect to Dr Monro.

What Dr Monro may ſay to it I know not: probably little or nothing. But I know well what Dr Cullen would have ſaid if it had happened to him; at leaſt what he uſed to ſay when things went wrong, as, for inſtance, when a medicine came up that ſhould have gone down, or a patient grew worſe when he ſhould have grown better, or died when he ſhould have recovered, and, when the novices wondered and lamented, or pretended to wonder and lament: on ſuch occaſions, Dr Cullen, firm as Cato, contented himſelf with ſaying, "*Have we not ſeen Pharſalia?*"

Since the name of Dr Monro has thus, by Mr Arrot, been mentioned in this diſcuſſion, unneceſſarily and improperly as I think, it is right to ſay explicitly, that though I had the misfortune to differ in opinion from him in that caſe, and perhaps have done ſo in a few, I truſt a very few, others; yet if I were myſelf dangerouſly ill, I ſhould be happy to have his profeſſional aſſiſtance, in preference to

that of any Phyſician in the world; of which, I believe, he has had complete evidence long ago. If there was any peculiar difficulty in my caſe, I ſhould be very glad to have a conſultation of two or three Doctors Monro, if ſo many could be found, but not one more, if they were more plenty than Herrings. A conſultation of thirty or forty, nay of twelve or fourteen Doctors Monro, would be too great happineſs for me, even if I had the Plague. One ſuch Doctor, I am ſure, would pay all poſſible attention to the caſe of his patient, and probably would do for him all that could be done; but if he was at a loſs what to do, or diſtruſted his own judgment with reſpect to the employing of a precarious or dangerous remedy, the advice and aſſiſtance of one or two other ſuch Doctors would be all that he or his patient could wiſh, with a view either to confirm his opinion if it was right, or correct it if it was wrong. And two or three ſuch men might reaſonably be expected to attend faithfully to the ſtate of their patient, to be warmly intereſted in his welfare, and even to think themſelves reſponſible for the management of him. But none of theſe things can rationally be expected in a great aſſembly or conſultation, even of ſuch men. Then I am ſure that Dr Monro is too wiſe and good a man ever to diſpute or quarrel with himſelf; and I ſhould expect even that two or three ſuch men in conſultation might agree like brethren. I do not know ſo well what might happen in a congregation of forty ſuch men, eſpecially if they had the misfortune to be united in one corporation of Phyſicians or Surgeons, and, of courſe, were made rivals for fame and fortune, perhaps obliged to ſtrive and ſcramble for their daily bread; and I know well what certainly would happen in a promiſcuous aſſembly of forty ordinary men, Phyſicians or Surgeons, of whom probably thirty taken together might not have the thirtieth part of Dr Monro's knowledge, underſtanding, and worth; while yet each of the thirty might be perfectly ſatisfied with himſelf, and equally convinced of the ignorance, the folly, and the knavery of the majority

jority of his brethren, and all of them exaſperated to the utmoſt by implacable corporation and profeſſional diſputes.

Whenever the Managers of the Infirmary permit or appoint for the ſick poor in the Hoſpital ſuch numerous and ill-aſſorted conſultations, as neither the rich and great, who can well afford to have whatever is beſt for them; nor Phyſicians and Surgeons, who, without expence, may have in that reſpect whatever they wiſh; nor they, if ſick themſelves, would chuſe to have, or could think of without horror, they may be ſure that they are doing wrong.

The well known maxim of a Grecian ſage is fairly applicable on this as on every occaſion: We ought not to ſeek what is greateſt, not even in rank or fortune, but what is beſt; what is moſt ſuitable to us. If a wiſe and good man had occaſion to be clothed himſelf, or charitably to clothe a poor man, he would hardly think of calling a conſultation of a great multitude of Tailors; and ſtill leſs, I preſume, would he deſire a whole Royal College of Tailors to co-operate in making, either for himſelf or for the poor man, the largeſt pair of breeches that they could contrive to make by their united labours. On many occaſions, ſo vaſt a pair of breeches would be worſe than none; and, on all occaſions, the breeches that fitted them beſt, would be the beſt for thoſe who had occaſion to wear them.

REMARKS *on* MR JOHN BELL'S *Anſwer for the Junior Members of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh to my Memorial; for which Anſwer he received the Thanks of that Royal College.*

SCARCE had I written one half of the preceding obſervations on Mr Arrot's Remarks, when I had the pleaſure of hearing (and a very great pleaſure it was to me, far greater even than what I had juſt before received from peruſing Mr John Bell's moſt admirable and

and inimitable pamphlet) that he had received, as I am ſure he well deſerved, the ſolemn thanks of the Royal College of Surgeons for that ineſtimable work. Ineſtimable it really was to me; for it was all that I wanted or wiſhed, and much more than I could have expected from any Member of that learned College, to confirm and illuſtrate, to the full conviction of the Managers and of the public, every thing that I had urged in my Memorial. It was much more acceptable, and more valuable to me, than a vote of thanks to myſelf, or than a Diploma of Honorary Member, unanimouſly conferred on me by that Royal College, would have been. It was infinitely better for my purpoſe, than any thing that I could have imagined, or would have written, if ſuch things had been ſuggeſted to me by men of ſuperior genius; and if Mr John Bell had put his own pen into my hand, and in his own name and that of his brethren, had deſired me to write whatever I pleaſed as an anſwer for them to my argument.

To Mr John Bell, perſonally and privately, I have already expreſſed my gratitude for the entertainment and edification which his work has afforded me. And I now publicly and formally beg that he, and all his brethren who firſt employed him to write that Anſwer to my Memorial, and who have now, by their ſolemn vote of thanks to him, ſanctioned it, and adopted it as their own, will accept my moſt humble and hearty thanks for the honour and favour which they have thus done me, and of which I ſhall now endeavour to prove myſelf not altogether unworthy.

They muſt not conſider theſe expreſſions of gratitude on my part as mere words of courſe, and idle compliments; nor muſt they refer them entirely to the obvious principle, moſt happily and emphatically expreſſed by a popular writer, "That there are men whoſe "praiſe is ſatire, and whoſe approbation is infamy." The ſevereſt cenſures of ſuch men, of courſe, muſt be more than praiſe, and their fouleſt reproaches the moſt unequivocal and honourable teſtimonials

monials that they can beſtow, and juſt as much to be deſired as *laudari a laudato viro.*

Even in this view, their vote of thanks to Mr John Bell, implying that they approved, adopted, and ſanctioned the ſentiments expreſſed in his pamphlet, with reſpect to me and my Memorial, would no doubt have been highly gratifying to me. But many other conſiderations, ſtill more weighty, contributed, along with that one, to enhance its value in my ſight. Juſt as a bill of exchange, hardly negotiable on the credit of the drawer, when covered by proper indorſements, becomes as good and current as if it were payable to the Sterling Abraham Newland.

If no ſuch public and honourable teſtimony of their approbation, eſteem, and concurrent ſentiments, had been beſtowed by them on Mr John Bell, and his Anſwer to my Memorial; ſtill worſe, if they individually had all diſavowed it, as what they never thought, and had never employed him to write for them, which at one time I had reaſon to fear would have been the caſe, I ſhould have been placed in a very unpleaſant and embarraſſing ſituation. There are many things in it of which I earneſtly wiſhed to take notice, and to avail myſelf, becauſe they appeared to me admirably ſuited to ſerve the cauſe which I had eſpouſed; but I could not, without forfeiting the eſteem and confidence of the Managers, and the good opinion of my beſt friends, have made any remarks on ſuch a work, which ſo many of them had declared to me neither required nor deſerved any notice from me.

I ſhould ſoon have been told that I was an arrant Quixote, attacking a harmleſs Windmill by miſtake for a terrible Giant. There would have been no end to the jokes and ſarcaſms that I muſt have brought on myſelf. But now that the enemy, for want (I preſume) both of Generals and Engineers, has placed his whole force in that windmill, a moſt unmilitary and untenable poſt I ſhould think, and from that poſt has valiantly attacked me on my ſtrongeſt ſide, it

cannot

cannot ſurely be thought Quixotiſm in me to take a view at leaſt of his entrenchments and batteries, and to conſider the plan and manner of his deſperate attack.

To be attacked on one's ſtrongeſt ſide, juſt in the place and in the manner that one would wiſh, is a wonderful and almoſt unexampled piece of good fortune. Any perſon who ſhall fairly conſider it in this point of view, will probably have ſome notion of the pleaſure I felt in reading Mr John Bell's pamphlet, and the ſtill greater pleaſure which I felt when I heard that he had received the thanks of the Royal College of Surgeons for that work. If not, let ſuch a perſon conſider what joy it would give to every friend of his country, to hear that the King of Spain and all his ſubjects had marched in a maſs to attack Gibraltar by ſea and land; or that the Firſt Conſul of France and all his myrmidons had fairly embarked in flat-bottomed boats, and ſailed to fight the Channel fleet and invade England, and he will underſtand perfectly the kind of pleaſure to which I allude. Even in theſe hard times, JOHN BULL himſelf would rejoice to be ſo attacked by his worſt enemies. Ruined as he is by the war, drowned in debt, pillaged with taxes, oppreſſed with grievances, pining (as uſual) with apprehenſions, tormented all day by exciſemen, haunted all night by ſchedules of income-tax longer than his rent-roll, beſet on all hands, devoured by his ſervants, threatened by his foes, bullied by his friends; a hoſt of democrats and reformers, armed with pamphlets, pikes, daggers, and guillotines, in his front; myriads of volunteer infantry, with fixed bayonets, in his rear; vaſt clouds of yeomanry cavalry, ſword in hand, ready to charge him on his right; mountains of volunteer artillery, with lighted portfires, juſt ready to open on his left; growling at the ſcarcity of belly-timber; not half reliſhing the proclamation, and the economy of eatables which it recommends; making endleſs wry faces at the nice pickled herrings which his ſiſter PEG ſends him up twice a-week, juſt by way of a whet; quite deſperate

perate at the rigid economy of malt, and the ſhameful waſte of river-water, which are now practiſed by the brewers; ſeeing no proſpect of any thing before him in this world but death and taxes, and doubtful which to take firſt; even in the midſt of all his calamities, JOHN BULL would chearfully put his hand once more in his almoſt empty pocket, and pay t'other fifty millions, juſt to have the pleaſure of reading a Gazette Extraordinary, containing the account of thoſe two attacks. The pamphlet of Mr John Bell, and the vote of thanks of the Royal College of Surgeons to him for it, were ſuch an attack, and ſuch a Gazette to me. Without metaphor or ſimile, I think it may be well underſtood, that to find Mr John Bell employing againſt me and my Memorial, and the majority of the Royal College of Surgeons approving, and, by their vote of thanks to him, formally ſanctioning and adopting as their own, arguments which ſcarce needed refutation, aſſertions which certainly required no contradiction, and reproaches the moſt virulent, but withal hurtful and diſhonourable only to their authors, could not fail to be gratifying to me. Such conduct, in the firſt place, was very ſufficient proof that they could find nothing better, or more to the purpoſe, to ſay againſt me and my argument; ſo that in this reſpect it was a kind of confirmation, really of more force than a formal acknowledgment, of the validity of all that I had advanced. But, in the ſecond place, it completely removed thoſe reſtraints which, from conſiderations of delicacy to them individually, and to their College as a body corporate, I had impoſed on myſelf, in ſtating, for the ſatisfaction of the public, ſome of the many ſtrong reaſons that the Managers had for wiſhing to get rid of that cruel contract which gave indiſcriminately to every Member of the College of Surgeons the right of attending by rotation in the Royal Infirmary. It not only gave me liberty, but ſtrongly required of me, to ſtate to the public at large ſome more of the evils neceſſarily reſulting from that cruel ſyſtem, and well known by experience to

the Managers, and to the Surgeons, but which I truſted it would have been unneceſſary to have made more generally known.

Still, however, in addition to the ſacred reſtraints of truth and juſtice, I hold myſelf bound in honour, and in duty, as a Manager of the Royal Infirmary, while I reprobate that ſordid bargain which our predeceſſors made with the Surgeons, and give ſtrong additional reaſons for putting an end to the cruel ſyſtem which has reſulted from it, as I truſt will ſoon be done, not to ſtate any minute particulars, in ſuch a manner as may point out any living individuals as blameable, or hurt their fame and fortune; and not to ſtate even the general caſe in ſuch a manner as to make them all, and their profeſſion, and the Hoſpital itſelf, objects of horror to the public. This they have attempted, in my opinion with more zeal than prudence, to do with reſpect to the Clinical Profeſſors, and their practice and lectures. But I conſider the conduct of Mr John Bell and the Surgeons, on this point, as an example only, not as a pattern.

It is right, however, to warn them all, as I did Mr John Bell, privately and perſonally, before his anſwer to my Memorial was written, that if they be not very cautious, they may ſoon and effectually fruſtrate my purpoſe in that kind of reſerve. Many of them muſt already know, and all of them, if they chooſe to take the trouble to enquire, may ſoon learn, from unqueſtionable authority, to what occurrences, and conſequently to what individual Surgeons, I allude. If they will not keep the ſecret as they ought to do, I cannot help it; nor do I care; let them ſee to the conſequences. Their indiſcretion will not injure any man of merit among them, nor will it weaken, on the contrary, it will greatly confirm and illuſtrate, my argument: and if ſome of them ſhall fall into the pit which themſelves have dug, I ſhall ſoon be comforted. *Nec lex ulla juſtior eſt, quam necis artificem arte perire ſua.*

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It is impoſſible that I ſhould have an unfavourable opinion of their Profeſſion; it is impoſſible that I ſhould bear any ill-will to their College in its corporate capacity; it is moſt certain that I bear not the ſmalleſt ill-will to any individual among them; there is not one of them whom I ſhould not be very ſorry to hurt in perſon, fame, or fortune. But to their hateful bargain with the Managers of the Royal Infirmary in 1738,—to their promiſcuous attendance and multitudinous conſultations in it,—and to the arguments or declamation by which they ſtill contend for that bargain, and that mode of attendance in the Hoſpital, I will give no quarter.

It was not, however, purely on the ſelfiſh principle of perſonal gratification to myſelf, nor yet from the conſideration of the great ſervice which it could not fail to do to my cauſe, that I had ſuch pleaſure in hearing of the vote of thanks of the Royal College of Surgeons to Mr John Bell: it was very much on his account; for till I heard of that well-judged and well-merited vote of thanks, " (Happy who thus have power to give, who thus with honour can " receive)," I had reaſon to fear that Mr John Bell would have been placed in a moſt diſtreſſing, and not a very creditable ſituation, which, out of the regard I bear to him, I ſhould have been heartily ſorry for.

From the ſolemn reſolution, and formal requeſt of the Junior Members (that is to ſay, of *ſome* of the Junior Members) of the Royal College of Surgeons, to Mr John Bell, which he has very judiciouſly printed, and prefixed to his Pamphlet, it is plain that he was employed by them to write an anſwer to my Memorial. It is plain alſo that he wrote ſuch an anſwer at their requeſt. But it is not quite ſo plain what is to be underſtood by his own circular letter to them, which he has alſo printed and prefixed to his Pamphlet. In that letter, which is a pretty long one, there are ſome things hard to be underſtood; and many things which, without a key, or at leaſt a good commentary, cannot be underſtood at all.

Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumæa Sibylla
Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit,
Obſcuris vera involvens: ea fræna furenti
Concutit, et ſtimulos ſub pectore vertit Apollo.

Indeed the only thing which can be clearly underſtood or inferred from that letter is, that the Pamphlet to which it is prefixed, written by Mr John Bell, had not met with the approbation of the Royal College of Surgeons, and was actually printed without the ſanction, perhaps contrary to the wiſhes, even of that party of the College in whoſe behalf it had been written. But I had no occaſion to rely on ſuch inferences from the obſcure hints and verboſe ambiguous expreſſions of that Sibylline letter. Several days before I ever heard of it, which indeed was not till after the pamphlet ſubjoined to it had been publiſhed, I was informed that ſeveral of that party of the Surgeons who oppoſed the change in the mode of their attendance in the Hoſpital for which I contend, had diſclaimed all ſhare or concern in Mr John Bell's *paullo poſt futurum* production, of which it was generally underſtood that he was actually in hard labour: and two or three days after he was ſafely delivered of it, I had the honour to receive a formal meſſage, from one of the moſt eminent of his partiſans, aſſuring me that he, the gentleman who ſent me the meſſage, had no concern in the Pamphlet.

On conſidering the various intimations of this kind, which, either directly or indirectly, I received ſoon before and ſoon after his Pamphlet appeared, it occurred to me, that his partiſans were reſolved to diſavow Mr John Bell's Pamphlet, juſt out of ſpite to me, in order to deprive me of the pleaſure and the advantage which they foreſaw I muſt have, if they ſanctioned it and adopted it as their own. For I could not ſuppoſe that ſo ſhort a time as had elapſed between the publication of my Memorial, and that of his anſwer to it, ſhould have diſſolved the friendſhip of ſuch men, a friend-

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ſhip founded on the moſt perfect confidence, and a thorough knowledge of one another's talents and virtues.

I thought it poſſible alſo that ſome of them, little acquainted with fine writing, and ſtill leſs with that exquiſite mode of reaſoning which is generally practiſed by lawyers, to the great aſtoniſhment of their ſimple clients, had not perceived the plan and drift of his elaborate work, nor conſequently underſtood the merit of it; or reliſhed the joke, which he intended to practiſe on me.

They probably expected, in pure ſimplicity of heart, when he undertook to anſwer my Memorial for them, that he was gravely to proceed at once to refute the arguments which I had urged; juſt as a common barber would in a trice take off the moſt briſtly beard that could come under his razor. But in this, ſuppoſing that it could have been done eaſily and without delay, there would have been no merit, and no joke at all.

Mr John Bell is a man of too great genius, and underſtands too well what he owes to himſelf and to his employers, as well as what the public expects of him, ever to have thought of proceeding in ſo mechanical and vulgar a manner on this grand occaſion, the fineſt opportunity he ever had, or ever could expect or wiſh to have, of diſplaying to the beſt advantage his ſuperior talents as an operator.

I ſoon diſcovered what kind of operation he intended to perform on me; for I once heard of its being ſucceſsfully performed on a ſimple traveller, who having great occaſion to be trimmed, ſent for the barber of a village where he chanced to ſtop. The knight of the razor ſoon made his appearance, and, with the hand of a maſter, in a trice prepared a mountain of foaming ſuds whiter than Alpine ſnows; then, with moſt perſevering diligence, lathered his patient's face as completely as the viſage of Don Quixote was lathered by the fair Altiſidora; then unfolded his ſhining blade, and ſtrapped it well, with many a flouriſh; and at laſt applied it ſo effectually,

fectually, that in a few ſeconds he ſcraped off all the ſkin, leaving every hair on the chin of the ill-fated traveller as long and ſtrong as it was before. This is juſtly conſidered as the very pink and perfection of maſterly ſhaving, and, when well performed, never fails to excite the aſtoniſhment of the patient, and the admiration and applauſe of every beholder. Mr John Bell, to do him juſtice, has not ſpared his lather, nor his labour, nor his flouriſhes, and, if his razor had had any edge at all, I ſhould certainly have been made a perfect raw head and bloody bones, my beard only, like an impenetrable *abbatis* or *chevaux de frize*, remaining untouched, and as formidable as ever. It might have been left purpoſely to the care of ſome vulgar operator, who knew nothing of the more ſublime parts of his profeſſion, and was fit only for ſuch drudgery.

But, *in magnis voluiſſe ſat eſt:* as it is not in mortals to command ſucceſs, we muſt be content with deſerving it. This the partiſans of Mr John Bell ſeem at laſt, though ſomewhat late, to have diſcovered and felt. Though I cannot compliment them on the generoſity of their conduct, I muſt own they have done him juſtice. To have with-held their thanks and praiſes would have been unjuſt, unkind, and ungrateful in the higheſt degree, after employing him in ſo ungracious and unprofitable a work. Firſt to have uſed him as they ſay a monkey does a cat's paw in roaſting cheſnuts, and then to have driven him out, like a ſcape-goat, into the wilderneſs, loaded with the ſins, and followed by the curſes of a whole people, would have been a ſpecimen of human nature worſe than any we have yet ſeen, not excepting even the conduct of Meſſ. Kennedy and Co. Members of the Corporation of Surgeons in Edinburgh, more than ſixty years ago. But now, by their juſt and candid behaviour to Mr John Bell, in voting their thanks and praiſes for his work, perfect eſteem, and confidence, and friendſhip, are preſerved among them: and long may they continue.

Felices

Felices ter et amplius
Quos irrupta tenet copula: nec malis
Divulſus querimoniis,
Suprema citius ſolvet amor die.

It is proper alſo to mention, in juſtice to Mr John Bell, that he appears in this cauſe not only rather as an advocate than as a party, but even as an advocate againſt his better judgment, and almoſt againſt his conſcience. I mean, that the ſentiments which he has expreſſed ſo fully and vehemently with reſpect to me, and with reſpect to the Royal College of Surgeons as a body, are diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which he entertained, and had openly avowed, and ſtrongly expreſſed, a ſhort time before; and, with reſpect to myſelf, a ſhort time after alſo, nay even at the time, and in the very act of writing that violent Philippic againſt me, which he has been pleaſed to call an Anſwer to my Memorial.

Of the laſt of theſe aſſertions any perſon who has got a copy of his Pamphlet may have complete proof in a moment. Such a perſon, on peruſing it, will perceive, that after reviling me for more than an hundred pages of ſmall print, royal octavo, in a ſtyle equal or ſuperior to any clapper-clawing that ever was performed in the Royal College of Surgeons; after reproaching me with every thing that is bad, ignorance, falſehood, malevolence, cruelty, hypocriſy; after repreſenting me as an undutiful, unnatural, degenerate ſon, and an unworthy, ungrateful ſcholar, who endeavoured, by the foulеſt means, to blaſt the character of my deceaſed inſtructor and colleague, Mr John Bell gravely declares, (page 10, ſect. 3.)

" It is time for us to ſay, in favour of one whoſe conduct we " cannot but deſpiſe, that though he may have a light and giddy " head, we are ſure he has an honeſt heart." Then he proceeds for full forty pages more reviling me as bitterly as he had done in the firſt hundred pages of his Pamphlet.

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It is evidently impoſſible that any man expreſſing his own real ſentiments ſhould have fallen into ſuch extravagant inconſiſtencies and contradictions. No man who knows what an honeſt heart is, can believe that I have ſuch a heart, (which Mr John Bell ſays he is ſure of), and at the ſame time believe me to be ſuch a horrible monſter as he repreſents me. What then muſt we conceive his real opinion of me to have been at the time when he was writing that Philippic againſt me? for at preſent I am not diſpoſed to admit that he literally does not know what an honeſt heart is, though very probably, for an hundred and fifty pages, he may never once have thought of it.

It ſeems to me moſt probable that his own opinion of me at that time was juſt the ſame that it had been before, and was immediately after, as moſt amply expreſſed by himſelf, when he was free from every reſtraint, and not acting either as the leader, or the advocate, or the tool of a party.

To the beſt of my knowledge, in the laſt twenty years of my life, no one Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, nor all of them put together, have ſaid ſo many kind and flattering things to me, and of me, as Mr John Bell has ſaid.

My library is adorned with copies of his books on anatomy and ſurgery, ſpendidly bound, preſented to me by the author, and either bearing inſcriptions, or accompanied by letters expreſſing his eſteem and reſpect for me. He has done me the honour to mention me in the moſt flattering manner in one of his immortal works, to which his name is not prefixed, but which, I believe, he never diſavowed, and now, if I underſtand him right, fairly acknowledges as his own; indeed, from its inveterate family-likeneſs, there could be no doubt about its parentage. I have had the pleaſure of hearing, on many occaſions, from ſeveral different perſons, that he ſpoke of me *vivâ voce* in the ſame favourable manner. In ſhort, without vanity, I believe that few men, if any, of my profeſſion,

or

or of any profeſſion, had the good fortune to poſſeſs a larger ſhare of his eſteem and good-will than myſelf; and I doubt much whether any perſon ever yet enjoyed that good fortune nearly ſo long as I have done.

Even juſt after my Memorial was diſtributed, and before Mr John Bell had been tempted by the Foe of mankind to "follow a "multitude to do evil," he did me the honour to addreſs to me a very long card on the ſubject of my Memorial, expreſſing ſentiments, and an avowed reſolution with reſpect to his future conduct in the buſineſs, which I thought, and ſtill think, do him very great credit. Accordingly, in my anſwer to that card, I endeavoured with all my might to confirm thoſe good ſentiments in him; and as I perceived, from ſome hints in his card, that there was a riſk of my Paper being miſunderſtood or miſrepreſented, I took much pains to obviate all ſuch miſtakes, real or pretended, with reſpect to it. I am ſure I ſaid much more than enough to have convinced him, or any perſon not abſolutely determined not to be convinced, (which is always the caſe with party-men), that my Memorial was a perfectly harmleſs and benevolent work, written in the diſcharge of my public duty and truſt.

But I think it beſt to let our correſpondence ſpeak for itſelf. Part of his ſhare of it does him very great honour, by ſhewing what his own ſentiments and intentions were; and the other part of his ſhare of it ſhews how he was prevailed on to change thoſe juſt ſentiments, and depart from his original good reſolution. My ſhare of the correſpondence will at leaſt ſhew what pains I took to keep him or to ſet him right, and to prevent ſuch an exploſion as we have lately ſeen.

N° I.

Mr Bell preſents compliments to Dr Gregory; has received an addreſs from Dr Gregory to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, on a ſubject in which it would be affectation in Mr Bell to ſay he had not a very particular intereſt.

From the moment in which Mr Bell heard of this Addreſs, he reſolved to take no ſelfiſh ſtep which might interrupt any charitable purpoſe, or give trouble to a ſet of gentlemen who have now to conduct a buſineſs peculiarly difficult and delicate, where the moſt ſuperficial obſerver may foreſee a contention of intereſts and paſſions very afflicting to the Managers, who, when a queſtion of this nature is brought before them, muſt decide. Mr Bell from the firſt reſolved to wait the deciſion of the Managers, which he has no doubt will be honourable and impartial, tending only to the public good.

On every occaſion of this nature, a man who is unavoidably intereſted muſt feel a degree of uneaſineſs till he have reſolved what line of conduct to purſue. Mr Bell has reflected on this ſubject of debate with no ſmall anxiety, and finds reaſon to be contented with the reſolution he at firſt formed, and to abide by it, as moſt modeſt and becoming a gentleman, and as eſpecially proper in a profeſſional man, who ſhould ſeek promotion and ſucceſs in the world rather by his honeſt diligence and private labours, than by cabal and ſolicitation. In this reſolved ſtate of mind, he was naturally ſurpriſed, and ſomewhat offended, to hear it reported that he was expected to anſwer Dr Gregory's Memorial; and it is to explain his ſentiments on this ſubject that he troubles Dr Gregory with this long card.

Mr Bell has not opened this Addreſs. He cannot ſuppoſe it poſſible for Dr Gregory to mix any private conſiderations with a public queſtion ſo important as this; and Mr Bell is perſuaded, that whatever

ever Dr Gregory may have ſaid of the conduct of one particular department in the Royal Infirmary, he will never forſake ſo far the dignity of his ſtation as to ſay any thing inſulting to the profeſſion, or dangerous to any individual. Such things could never enter into a Memorial addreſſed by a man of talents to a reſpectable and public body. Mr Bell having no perſonal fear, can the more freely ſay to Dr Gregory, that, from his former conduct, Mr Bell has reaſon to expect every thing liberal, fair, and honourable.

Mr Bell takes this opportunity of aſſuring Dr Gregory, that whatever may be the reports of idle or buſy people, he can imagine no poſſible motive, on his part, for anſwering a Memorial which has in view an object ſo charitable and praiſe-worthy as that of conducting to the beſt advantage the only Hoſpital in this great city. Nothing could engage Mr Bell in any public diſpute, nor be an apology to himſelf for writing any pamphlet or memorial, except the ſincere hope of being uſeful, or the neceſſary duty of ſelf-defence. And if it were poſſible that, in regard to the adminiſtration of the Royal Infirmary, and his public duties there, he were forced to reply to any public charge, it muſt be of a nature which would involve his reputation, and very exiſtence as a profeſſional man. But Dr Gregory is too ſenſible of all this to do any thing ungenerous; and Mr Bell is too ſeriouſly impreſſed with the ſerious conſequences of any ſuch imputation, either to diſregard the ſlighteſt accuſation, or to enter unpremeditately or raſhly upon a public vindication. The ſtep which is to give a colour to a man's future life and reputation, which is to enlarge or take away his opportunities of being uſeful in his public profeſſion, may well admit of deliberate reflection.

Mr Bell will not pay Dr Gregory ſo poor a compliment as to neglect reading what he is pleaſed to publiſh; but, without being wanting in every proper and decent attention to his character, ſtation, and future expectations in life, he will wait compoſedly the

× iſſue of this buſineſs, by which alone the deſign of this Addreſs can be judged of. If Dr Gregory have in this buſineſs nothing but the intereſts of humanity in view, his Memorial will contain in it
× nothing of partiality or party-ſpirit, and it muſt carry along with it the approbation of every good and well-diſpoſed man.

N° 9. *George's Street.*

N° II.

Lanerk, Thurſday Evening, 14th Auguſt 1800.

DEAR SIR,

I was gone from Edinburgh before your card came to my houſe. It was ſent after me. It is ſo intereſting to me, and in my opinion ſo honourable to yourſelf, that I have been anxious to anſwer it fully, and in the way that I think will be moſt completely ſatisfactory to you and all your profeſſional brethren. This has inſenſibly led me into ſome pretty long diſcuſſions, ſo that my letter, begun four days ago at Dumfries Houſe, is not yet finiſhed, though in my clumſy hand-writing it looks already almoſt like a little Memorial. I muſt be back in Edinburgh on Sunday, or Monday morning at fartheſt; then, or ſooner, if I can get it finiſhed ſooner, my letter ſhall wait on you. In the mean time, I give you this intimation, that you may not ſuppoſe, from my delay in anſwering your card, that I am inſenſible or unworthy of thoſe expreſſions of eſteem which it contains, or of the confidence which you have had the goodneſs to put in me.

I have much pleaſure in thinking that a great part of my letter muſt already be anticipated by your own peruſal of my Memorial; and, in particular, that you muſt have found it juſt the reverſe of what you had heard ſurmiſed with reſpect to any ſuppoſed inſults

on

on your profeſſion. But I can eaſily gueſs how an imperfect or ſuperficial reading of it may have led to that miſtake.

I am your obliged and moſt obedient ſervant,

J. GREGORY.

To Mr John Bell, Surgeon in Edinburgh.

N° III.

MR BELL preſents compliments to Dr Gregory; has received the Doctor's card, and alſo the papers which he had the politeneſs to promiſe, and the good humour to deſcribe as a little Memorial.

No one would be more happy than Mr Bell to allow Dr Gregory all poſſible applauſe for the humane motives which firſt diſpoſed him to enter upon this buſineſs, and for his generous intentions all along; but, moſt unhappily, Dr Gregory has, in the fervour of compoſition, or in the hurry of important duties, partly ſacrificed to this important object, ſaid many things which the Doctor's natural candour will incline him to acknowledge are unjuſtly ſevere, and far from being uſeful to his cauſe.

The young Surgeons, in danger of being excluded from thoſe duties which they believed they were employed in performing with humanity, diligence, and at leaſt the ordinary degree of ſkill, and finding in Dr Gregory's Memorial nothing of that reſpect or delicacy which their common profeſſion and the inſeparable character of gentlemen entitled them to expect, have reſolved to anſwer Dr Gregory's Memorial, and have requeſted Mr Bell to take his ſhare in the labour.

Mr Bell would think himſelf very unworthy of the honourable ſervice they have aſſigned him, of conveying their ſentiments to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, if he did not partake of their feelings.

feelings. Yet he hopes to perform his appointed taſk with that
× delicacy towards Dr Gregory and his profeſſion which, it is to be lamented, was quite forgotten when Surgery and Surgeons were made the public jeſt of every light head and unfeeling heart; and
× with that ſerioufneſs alſo which becomes young men anxious about their profeſſional reputation, and appealing to a body of men ſo reſpectable and diſintereſted as the Managers of the Royal Infirmary. But Dr Gregory knows how to make allowance for whatever expreſſions may chance to be uſed in a pamphlet, not of aggreſſion, nor of recrimination even, but of reply merely. Perſonal invective is by no means the moſt perſuaſive manner of writing, it
× is a thriftleſs trade, " C'eſt un mechant métier que celui de " médire."

This arrangement, which has taken place ſince Dr Gregory left town, Mr Bell would be ſorry to have him a moment unacquainted with. And, without the rudeneſs of returning the papers deſigned for Mr Bell as a private gentleman, he hopes Dr Gregory will have the goodneſs to reflect on the peculiar delicacies of his ſituation, and will judge for him, whether it were at all proper that he ſhould touch the ſeals of thoſe papers. He is ſorry that he ſhould have even a doubt about the propriety of reading any papers which Dr Gregory has been ſo condeſcending as to write on the occaſion.

N° 9. *George's Street, Tueſday Evening.*

N° IV.

St Andrew's Square, Wedneſday Morning, 20th Auguſt 1800.

DEAR SIR,

I LOSE not a moment to acknowledge the receipt of your ſecond very polite card.

I am very ſenſible of the liberality and delicacy of your conduct to me, in offering to return me the papers which I ſent you yeſterday without touching the ſeals of them; but you muſt be equally ſenſible, that for me to accept that very handſome offer on your part would be altogether wrong. It would expoſe me to the moſt unfavourable ſuſpicions; ſuch as I cannot chuſe to incur, even though knowing them to be unjuſt, I cannot fear them.

I think it right to preclude even the poſſibility of ſuch ſuſpicions; the more ſo as I underſtand, from ſome hints which you kindly gave me in your former card, that ſome doubts were entertained about the propriety of my conduct, and even ſome ſuſpicions of the purity of my motives in printing the Memorial which you have ſeen.

There is nothing in the papers, which at preſent you have in your poſſeſſion with the ſeals unbroken, but what you have a right to know, and what I ſhould wiſh you to know, even though you are now to be my opponent inſtead of my friend and ally, as, from your former card, I hoped to have found you. But I do not blame you for changing your mind. It is commonly ſaid that ſecond thoughts are beſt; I hope yours will be ſo. I am ſure I ſhall have much pleaſure and edification in reading any anſwer to my Memorial which is written wholly or partly by you.

There is nothing in my written papers which you received yeſterday but what you are welcome to ſhew to any of your friends or profeſſional brethren, eſpecially now that they have reſolved to anſwer my printed paper. I ſhould even wiſh you to ſhew my written paper to them all. There are ſome things in it which it may be of real conſequence to them to know, even with a view to anſwer my Memorial. But obſerve, thoſe papers were written haſtily and by ſtarts, chiefly at inns on my return to Edinburgh; and that you have them as they were firſt written, with all, or almoſt all their errors and inaccuracies on their head; they were written

written with the negligence and freedom of one gentleman writing privately and confidentially to another; ſo I proteſt againſt all remarks on grammatical or verbal inaccuracies, words wanting, or twice written, or miſplaced or miſ-ſpelled, &c. As to the ſubſtance of what is written, you and your friends are moſt heartily welcome to uſe all manner of freedom; juſt as much as with my printed paper.

Though we are now to be opponents, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould be enemies; may I therefore beg a favour of you and your brethren? If you have no good reaſon to the contrary, I wiſh you would print your anſwer in quarto, and of the ſame ſize with my Memorial, that they may be conveniently bound up together; and if ever I have occaſion to reply to you, I ſhall do the ſame.

I am, dear Sir, your obliged and moſt obedient ſervant,

J. GREGORY.

Mr John Bell's obliging offer of ſending me back my papers with the ſeal untouched would have completely fruſtrated my purpoſe in writing them; and if I had accepted his offer, it would not have anſwered the purpoſe for which he made it. The papers in queſtion, being too bulky to be *folded*, were *rolled* up, and the cover of the roll, to the beſt of my remembrance, was ſealed at the ſide only; ſo that the incloſed papers might eaſily have been taken out at either end of the cover, and might have been read by fifty people, and might have been replaced *in ſtatu quo*, without ever touching the ſeal.

Of the copy of that letter which I have kept, but a very ſmall part was written by myſelf; the whole of it was written very haſtily; and no part of it was compared with the original. On reading it over, with a view to print it, I find that ſeveral words are

a wanting,

a wanting, others miſplaced, and others miſtaken. Theſe accidental errors I have endeavoured to correct in printing it, to the beſt of my remembrance. If there be, in the following copy of it, any deviation from the original in the hands of Mr John Bell, it is not intended, and it can be of no conſequence.

N° V.

DEAR SIR,

I employ the firſt hour I could command to anſwer your very intereſting card. I truſt you know already that I was gone out of town before you ſent it to my houſe. If I had been at home when it came to my houſe I ſhould have anſwered it immediately, and ſhould have loſt no time in communicating it to the ſeveral Managers of the Royal Infirmary, to whom I am ſure it will give, as it has given to me, very great pleaſure. I ſhall not fail to communicate it to them as ſoon as I return to Edinburgh, which, unleſs I am prevented by ſome unforeſeen accident, will be in a week from this time.

This, independently of the gratification which I know it will be to all of them, I ſhould think it my duty to do in juſtice to you. I am heartily glad that you have been the firſt to expreſs ſo openly and ſo ſtrongly thoſe juſt and liberal ſentiments which your card to me contains, and which I muſt take the liberty to ſay, do you very great credit.

Do not ſuppoſe from this that I am ſurpriſed at your acting wiſely and honourably on this occaſion, or that I expected you to have acted otherwiſe. You will have ſeen before this time, by my Memorial itſelf, that I had little or no apprehenſion of meeting with any different ſentiments or conduct from any individual of your

College. My fears were limited to the chance, and that a very ſmall one, of your College as a body-corporate acting on principles very different from thoſe which any gentleman acting for himſelf perſonally could avow, or even be ſuppoſed to entertain.

I am ſenſible that it was not altogether civil in me, or reſpectful to your College, to ſtate ſuch a ſuppoſition with reſpect to its conduct even in its corporate capacity. But none of you individually, nor your College in general, can ſeriouſly take amiſs my conduct in that reſpect, if you but do me the juſtice to obſerve, that the unfavourable ſuppoſition to which I allude was eſſential to my argument, not as a thing to be believed, but only to be ſtated and conſidered; that I ſtated it with the greateſt diffidence, and with a proper apology for the liberty I took; and further, if you conſider that thoſe very illiberal ſentiments which I could not believe any of you entertained at preſent, had been entertained and avowed as the principles of action of many of your College little more than ſixty years ago; and as I have ſtrong reaſon to ſuſpect much more lately, when, for two, or three, or four years together, the mode of attendance of the Surgeons in the Infirmary was a ſubject of keen conteſt between your College and the Managers.

I am ſure you will have great pleaſure in obſerving the contraſt between the liberal and honourable ſentiments ſo well expreſſed in your card to me, and thoſe ſo much the oppoſite of them, that I can find no decent words to expreſs them, which you ſee avowed in the Surgeons Memorial of 1737. I preſume that wonderful production was as new, and if not too diſguſting, would be as entertaining to you as I have hitherto found it to all your brethren with whom I have converſed about it.—I *preſume*, for, not having ſeen the particulars in our minutes, I cannot pronounce with certainty, that you will have equal pleaſure, and equal cauſe for honeſt pride and ſelf-approbation, when you compare the ſentiments expreſſed in your card to me, with thoſe which influenced the Surgeons in their

their long conteſt with the Managers between thirty and thirty-five years ago, the particulars of which you will find in the minutes of your own College.

I do not wonder that at firſt, and eſpecially before you read my paper, you ſhould think, that " the moſt ſuperficial obſerver may " foreſee a contention of intereſts and paſſions very afflicting to the " Managers." I confeſs I thought ſo myſelf at firſt: but on conſidering the ſubject more deeply, I found ſtrong reaſons to hope more favourably of the reſult of the diſcuſſion; as, I truſt, you will do very ſoon. Certainly your card to me has greatly ſtrengthened theſe hopes.

As you have dealt ſo liberally and ſo frankly with me on this ſubject, I ſhall be as frank with you, and tell you plainly my view of it, and my reaſons for thinking that your own very honourable conduct, and thoſe ſentiments which you have expreſſed in your card to me, will have a great and happy influence in the buſineſs. You will, I hope, in the firſt place, excuſe me when I take the liberty to tell you, that I do not think you ſufficiently cool or impartial to judge fairly what the ſentiments and conduct of many of your profeſſional brethren will be on this occaſion: I mean, of thoſe eſpecially from whom you have differed in profeſſional and corporation diſputes.

Of the particulars and even the ſubjects of theſe diſputes, I know little or nothing, and I do not wiſh to know any thing; for I am not qualified to judge of them, and I have no right and no wiſh to interfere in them. But I have ſo often heard that there are many keen diſputes in your College, and that you take a very active part in them, that I can have no doubt of either of theſe facts. On the ſame general and vague *authority*, (if ſuch it may be called), I underſtand that you, by your talents and activity, have acquired a great aſcendancy among your profeſſional brethren, and are regarded as the great leader of one party among them.

You may judge how ſtrictly I have adhered to my avowed principle, never to meddle with any of your profeſſional or corporation diſputes, when I aſſure you moſt ſolemnly, that I do not know, nor can I gueſs, who is the leader of the oppoſite party in your College. As little do I know who and who are together on either ſide, or what are the ſubjects of your contentions. Theſe are things into which I never enquired, and of which I never chanced to be informed. But, without any information, I can eaſily judge with confidence, that it is not of your own friends and adherents that you expect ſentiments and conduct quite different from your own, and juſt the reverſe of what you judge to be moſt wiſe, liberal, and honourable. You cannot think your own friends ſuch knaves and fools. Then you may reaſonably expect that your own arguments, and even your example, will have great weight with them. It muſt be from the oppoſite party in your College that you expect ſuch irrational and illiberal conduct.

In this reſpect, I hope and truſt you do them injuſtice. It is natural, and almoſt unavoidable, for a perſon keenly engaged in diſputes, to think too unfavourably of the underſtanding and morals of his adverſaries. A perſon totally unintereſted in ſuch diſputes, will not readily fall into the ſame error, and certainly he can have no excuſe for doing ſo. For example, if your adverſaries in the College of Surgeons had told me that you and your friends were ſuch a parcel of knaves, and fools, and Shylocks, that you would pay no regard to any rational, liberal, or honourable conſiderations, but would each inſiſt on cutting his pound of fleſh from the breaſt of ſome miſerable patient whom the bargain with the Managers had made the debtor of your College, I could not have believed them; nor probably ſhould I have met with any credit, either in point of underſtanding or veracity, if I had profeſſed to believe them.

You muſt excuſe me, therefore, when I tell you frankly, that I can as little admit, or expect any credit if I ſhould pretend to admit, your ſuppoſition with reſpect to ſome of your profeſſional brethren, and that diſtreſſing conflict of paſſions and intereſts which you dread.

It is evidently impoſſible that in ſo numerous a body as the College of Surgeons, all the individuals ſhall be of the ſame character, or of equal, or nearly equal underſtanding and knowledge. This obvious conſideration is of itſelf a concluſive argument againſt their promiſcuous attendance and conſultations in the Infirmary. From your intimate acquaintance with many perſons, and tranſactions, totally unknown to me, you may have good reaſon to believe that ſeveral of your profeſſional brethren are very different from you in point of character, and much inferior to you in underſtanding and knowledge. But I can ſcarce think you entitled to deem ſo meanly of any of them, as to ſuppoſe that they will act differently from you on this intereſting occaſion; or attempt to make any kind of conteſt with the Managers, inſtead of leaving the buſineſs to their conſideration, and abiding by their deciſion, as you very wiſely and honourably have reſolved to do.

I muſt repeat what I have ſaid in my Memorial, that nothing leſs than actual experience of the fact can ever make me believe ſuch ſentiments and ſuch conduct *poſſible*. When probably a great majority of your College, and certainly many individuals of it, highly reſpectable for their character, their talents, and their knowledge, think and act as you do, can any of your brethren be ſuch blockheads, as not to perceive at once what the conſequences of the oppoſite conduct on their part muſt be to themſelves, in public eſtimation, that is, in fame and fortune, for the reſt of their lives? Their conduct and ſentiments muſt ſoon be publicly known; for thoſe who acted differently neither would nor could keep them ſecret.

The public at large cannot judge properly of the *minutiæ* of our profeſſional diſputes, and has ſo often been plagued and ſurfeited with them, as generally to regard them with contempt and diſguſt: ſometimes with perfect abhorrence. But the ſame public can judge eaſily and infallibly, on the principles of common ſenſe and common honeſty, *who* act wiſely, liberally, and honourably, and *who* act ſelfiſhly, ſordidly, and unfeelingly, on the general point at preſent in queſtion. Would any of your brethren wiſh to ſee a diſtinction eſtabliſhed among the Members of your College into the Gentlemen and the Shylocks? Would any of them like to be claſſed with the Shylocks, and to fare accordingly for the reſt of his life? If you think ſo unfavourably of any of them as to ſuppoſe, that either they do not ſee this conſequence, or ſeeing it plainly would diſregard it, I wiſh you would fairly try the experiment on them, and aſk them the queſtion; the more publicly the better. Call their attention to the correſponding occurrence in the College of Phyſicians fifty years ago. Aſk them what they would have thought, or what they ſuppoſe the public would have thought of our Royal College, if we had diſputed the point with the Managers, and inſiſted on our right, as unqueſtionably eſtabliſhed by the charter of the Infirmary? Our College, to its very great honour, was unanimous and cheerful on that occaſion. But if the caſe had been otherwiſe, if it had been carried only by a ſmall majority, what would your brethren think, or what would the public have thought, of the minority of the Phyſicians? Nay, if thoſe who were for conteſting the point with the Managers had proved the majority in our College, and had ſucceeded in their conteſt with the Managers, what would the public have thought of them and their diſgraceful victory? Whatever you, or your profeſſional brethren, or the public, would have thought of ſuch Phyſicians, we Phyſicians, and what is more to the purpoſe on this occaſion, the public too, muſt infallibly think of any Surgeons who at preſent

ſhall

ſhall act, as I have for the ſake of argument and illuſtration *ſuppoſed* ſome of the Phyſicians to have done.

I preſume I need not point out to you, but if you pleaſe, you may point it out to any of your own brethren who you think do not perceive it, that they collectively, and chiefly the moſt eminent and beſt employed of them, can do nothing ſo much for the pecuniary intereſt of the Phyſicians, as to engage in ſuch a conflict of intereſts and paſſions with the Managers as you dread, and very wiſely, as well as honourably, have reſolved to decline. Whatever degrades them, either collectively or individually, in the eſtimation of the public, muſt tend greatly, and almoſt in the ſame proportion, to raiſe us, whoſe conduct in the ſame circumſtances was ſo different. You know as well as I do, probably much better, what kind of rivalſhip there is between the Surgeons and Phyſicians; and that though we never interfere in what is properly your province as Surgeons and Apothecaries, you interfere moſt notoriouſly and greatly in ours, and do more than three fourths of what ſhould be done in point of practice by the Phyſicians. I cannot pay my own brethren ſo ſcurvy a compliment, as to believe that any of them would be gratified by ſeeing any of yours act in that unworthy manner which you are afraid of, or ſhould wiſh them to do ſo for the ſake of the profeſſional *loſs* of fame and fortune *to them*, and conſequently *gain to us*, that would neceſſarily reſult from ſuch conduct on their part. But I have ſomewhere read, that in the misfortunes of our beſt friends, we generally find ſomething that is not diſagreeable: and I ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that if the worſt that can be foreſeen or ſuppoſed, ſhould happen to your College, in conſequence of the conduct which you dread in ſome of your brethren, mine would ſoon be comforted; and that even from the beginning of the conflict they would exult in the ſuperior wiſdom, and liberality, and more honourable conduct of our predeceſſors on a ſimilar occaſion.

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In another point of view, and more particularly, let us conſider what thoſe paſſions and intereſts *can poſſibly be*, the conflict of which appears to you ſo formidable.

On the part of the Managers, there *can be no* paſſion, no intereſt, no motive of any kind, but honeſt zeal for the good of the ſick poor. Their conduct at the firſt eſtabliſhment of this Infirmary, their long ſtruggles with the Surgeons ſoon after, and again more than thirty years ago, the nature of the thing itſelf, the practice on the ſame point in numberleſs other Hoſpitals, all concur to preclude the ſuppoſition of any improper paſſion, or any ſiniſter motive in them. As to pecuniary intereſt, the conſideration of it, if it were to be attended to, (which it ought not to be in this caſe, in which an object of infinitely higher value is at ſtake), would be ſtrongly in favour of the preſent ſyſtem, and againſt ſuch a change as I conceive to be neceſſary. For this implies in the firſt place, the refunding of L. 500, paid by your corporation to the managers, to bring about that cruel bargain. But this is the leaſt of it. The eſtabliſhment of two or three ordinary attending Surgeons, with even very moderate ſalaries, as I propoſe, implies a conſiderable annual expence to the Hoſpital. I know not exactly what; probably not leſs than L. 100, nor more than L. 200 per annum, (for very obvious reaſons). We ſhall ſuppoſe it L. 150 per annum. The value of this at twenty year's purchaſe, is L. 3000. The whole expence to the Infirmary may be L. 3500 or more. If it were twice as much, I ſhould think it well beſtowed. Whatever in this reſpect is the pecuniary expence or loſs to the Hoſpital, is evidently the pecuniary gain of your College. Your brethren, therefore, have a very ſtrong intereſt in this point of view, to concur with the Managers in the change which I propoſe, and none to ſtrive againſt it.

As to any other *intereſt*, real or ſuppoſed, which your brethren may have, or think they have, in the ſyſtem of promiſcuous attendance by rotation, on the principle of acquiring improvement, by practiſing

practiſing in the Infirmary, though at the riſk or at the expence of the miſerable patients, I have in my Memorial diſcuſſed it as fully, and ſtrictly, and calmly, as if there had been nothing in it contrary to juſtice and humanity, or even to common ſenſe. As my argument on that point is *bona fide* ſimple mathematical demonſtration, and little elſe than eaſy arithmetical calculation, I truſt it muſt have convinced you and all your brethren, that in a numerous College like yours, that ſuppoſed intereſt and improvement is *next to nothing*, and abſolutely contemptible, certainly not equal in four and twenty years to what the youngeſt member of your College would acquire in *one* year's permanent attendance. If there be any error in my argument on that point, (or my ſuppoſed mathematical demonſtration), it muſt be eaſy to point it out, and impoſſible to diſpute about it.

In the mean time, I cannot think it neceſſary to make any addition to it but *one*, and this one is very ſhort; and though no doubt uſeleſs to a man of your talents, perhaps not quite ſuperfluous to ſome of your brethren, who are leſs accuſtomed than you are to follow a chain of reaſoning. I wiſh it to be obſerved, and I ought to have ſtated in my Memorial, that the ſuppoſed improvement acquired by the Surgeons attending promiſcuouſly in rotation, is in the *inverſe proportion* of the wrong done to the poor patients: that is, the more the patients are expoſed to ſuffer, or actually do ſuffer, the leſs improvement do the Surgeons acquire by their attendance in that manner; and conſequently the *leſs intereſt* (for any *right* of theirs in law or equity to attend in that way I hope I have ſhewn to be not only an abſurdity, but an atrocity and an outrage on human nature) can they have in the continuance of ſuch a ſyſtem. For example, if two or three Surgeons were really needed to do the Hoſpital duty to the beſt advantage, and were permanently appointed to it accordingly; and if there were but two or three more Surgeons in the town; and if theſe were, as in

Of ſuch unworthy paſſions, and of any conflict which they may excite, the Managers can have no fear. The wiſeſt and the moſt fooliſh, (not under the immediate influence of them), muſt foreſee alike what regard will be paid to them, and to any conteſt proceeding from them, either by the public, or in a court of juſtice. In the preſent ſtate of the buſineſs, I ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that ſuch a conflict of intereſts and paſſions as you ſeem to dread, far from being matter of affliction to the Managers, would be a ſubject of amuſement and mirth, and really of triumph to them, as well as to the Phyſicians, and to many of your own profeſſional brethren, who it is plain will be the firſt to profit by it, even from the day on which it begins. It was my object in my Memorial, and, to tell you the truth, it is my object in this long letter to you, which is, as you may ſee, a kind of ſupplemental Memorial, to prevent ſuch a diſgraceful conflict. This I ſhould earneſtly have wiſhed to do, if I could, even for the ſake of your College and your profeſſion, to which I aſſure you I wiſh no evil. But more eſpecially I wiſhed, as it was my duty, if poſſible, to prevent ſuch a conflict for the ſake of the Hoſpital: Not for fear or any doubts of the ultimate iſſue of it; for of this I was well aſſured before my Memorial went to the preſs: Not for fear of any blame or diſcredit which it can bring on the Managers; for the attempt, even if it could be unſucceſsful, muſt ſtill be greatly to our credit, as you cannot fail to perceive: Not for fear of any evil to the ſick poor from ſuch a conflict; for *they* have every thing to gain, and nothing to loſe by it. They may be better, and they can be no worſe taken care of, than they are according to the preſent ſyſtem. I tell you honeſtly, that I wiſhed to prevent ſuch a conflict, and took upon myſelf the trouble and expence of that Memorial which you have ſeen, for no other reaſon, but juſt to ſave the Infirmary the expence of litigation with your College, which, if conducted in the way that lawſuits too often are, and

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perhaps carried to the Houſe of Peers, might very probably coſt the Hoſpital L. 500. This expence, if incurred without neceſſity, I ſhould think would be paying rather too dear for the malicious joke of ſeeing your College hunted by the beſt pack of lawyers in the kingdom, through all the courts of juſtice in it. But ſuppoſing the worſt, as I always do in ſuch doubtful caſes, that L. 500 of the Infirmary's money muſt be ſpent on law, ſtill it would be no worſe than if we had to pay your College L. 1000 inſtead of L. 500, on refunding the money, *(the bribe)*, which our predeceſſors got from yours more than ſixty years ago. The Managers, I have good reaſon to believe, are now thoroughly convinced that L. 500, or L. 1000, ought not to be put in competition with the eſſential good of the ſick poor in the Hoſpital. If you know of any paſſions leſs hateful, and more avowable, than thoſe to which I allude, and ſuch as, without an *inſult* to your profeſſional brethren, you may *ſuppoſe* to excite them to a conflict with the Managers on this occaſion, I wiſh you, who are not yourſelf under the influence of them, would ſtate preciſely what they are. I am confident they would meet with the moſt candid and patient attention from the Managers.

Your ſentiments and reſolutions being what you have ſo honourably and ſo fully ſtated in your card to me, I do not wonder that you ſhould be much diſpleaſed at hearing it reported, erroneouſly, that *you* were to anſwer my Memorial. But I muſt take the liberty to ſay, that I do not think you ought to conſider it ſo deeply as you ſeem to do. I can tell you ſomething more about that report than you perhaps yet know. I heard that *ſurmiſe*, for it neither was nor could be any thing more, within *five hours* from the time when my Memorial was diſtributed on Monday; at which time, it was very improbable that you ſhould have declared, or even formed any ſuch reſolution, and impoſſible that you ſhould have read one half of it; and when, as I now underſtand

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by your card to me, you had not read one word of it, and of courſe could have no preciſe or juſt notion of the tenor of it, nor be able to judge whether it were poſſible or adviſable to anſwer it or not.

The *ſurmiſe* in queſtion I underſtood, and I think you ſhould underſtand, to have meant no more, but that, *if* my Memorial was to be anſwered, your friends would rely on *you* as their leader, and the man of the greateſt talents among them, to come forth as the champion of their cauſe, and to anſwer it for them. The *ſurmiſe*, far from being a ſubject of juſt offence, was really a compliment to you.

Since you do me the honour to ſhew ſo much anxiety about my good opinion of your conduct in that reſpect, I ſhall tell you frankly that I never could believe that you, or that any individual of your College, would even attempt to anſwer my Memorial. I could not ſuppoſe you to adopt or try to vindicate the unworthy and hateful ſentiments contained in the Surgeons Memorial of 1737: for with reſpect to their conſummate turpitude there can be but one opinion. I could not ſuppoſe you to diſpute that a *conſtant ſucceſſion* of the youngeſt and moſt inexperienced Surgeons in Edinburgh, attending and operating in the Hoſpital, muſt be cruelly bad for the patients, and inconſiſtent with the duty of the Managers to permit, for any pecuniary advantage whatever. As little could I ſuppoſe you to diſpute that the attendance of the very ſame youngeſt and moſt inexperienced Surgeons, in ſucceſſion, for any number of months or years, as muſt from time to time happen, according to the ſyſtem of rotation, muſt be juſt as bad for the ſick poor in the Hoſpital during that time, as great a wrong to them, as repugnant to the duty of the Managers, and the purpoſe of the Infirmary, and as real an abomination to every man of ſenſe and worth, as if it were to laſt for a century, or for ever.—Much leſs, (if poſſible), could I ſuppoſe you, or any man of common

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ſenſe and common honeſty, to admit thoſe ſelf-evident truths, and yet to inſiſt on adhering to that pernicious ſyſtem, becauſe it was the right of your College, long ſince bought and paid for.

I ſhall tell you frankly, that the worſt I apprehended from you was, that, contrary to your own better judgment, you might find yourſelf obliged by your ſituation and connections, to join with your friends, (collectively and as a party), and even to take a very active part as their leader, in oppoſing that change which I recommend, and which your College in general, or by a great majority, had keenly oppoſed on a former occaſion. *Civium ardor prava jubentium*, in ſome caſes, I believe, has almoſt irreſiſtible force. Little as I know of party politics of any kind, and much as I hate them, worſe even than profeſſional diſputes among medical men, I have always underſtood that the only way to lead a party, or a ſet of men, is to go along with them; eſpecially when they begin to grow violent and unruly. On ſuch occaſions it is well known that men will not attend even to their own intereſt, and on no occaſion will they conſent to be made either wiſer or better, or follow even an Angel to Heaven, if he were ſent on purpoſe to conduct them thither by ſuch honeſt and rational means. If only one tenth part of what I have heard be true, many of our greateſt ſtateſmen, both *ins* and *outs*, have often been fain to commit the practical *Bull*, of leading their friends by following them.

It was on this principle only that I ever thought it poſſible you ſhould be my opponent on this occaſion. To find that you were not to be ſo, that you deſpiſed and reprobated ſuch caballing, and that you were reſolved to act in that independent and honourable manner which you mention in your card, gave me much pleaſure; and has procured you the honour, which you perhaps will think rather a burden, of this long manifeſto. I was happy to think that I had found a friend and aſſiſtant in one whom I expected to have had for an opponent. You will ſee by my Memorial itſelf, what

what I apprehended would be the means which a man of talents and th rough knowledge of the ſubject would take to fruſtrate my plan; *not* by anſwering my Memorial, or attempting to ſhew that the ſyſtem of the Surgeons attending in rotation, and conſulting promiſcuouſly, is not as bad for the patients as I have ſhewn it to be; *not* by requiring any particular examples to be produced in proof of thoſe evils to the patients, of which I have given only a general view; *not* by requiring that a number of witneſſes ſhould be examined to prove that the general ſyſtem was known to many others, and thoſe the beſt informed and moſt competent judges, to be as bad as I repreſented it; for any ſuch attempts, and eſpecially any enquiries into particular misfortunes, I was ſure would make bad ten times worſe; but by ſlurring over theſe things, and keeping them out of ſight, as much as poſſible; acting on the *defenſive*, and leaving it to lawyers to contend for the bargain of 1738 as they beſt could, on the common principles which would be applicable, and irrefragably valid, in a queſtion about a bargain concerning any kind of property, ſuch as that one which I have ſuppoſed to have been made between the Butchers and the Tanners.

To obviate that plan, which was the only one I had to fear, you will obſerve that I took much pains to ſtate ſtrongly and minutely, on medical and moral principles, the infinite difference between a common contract for property, and the bargain between our predeceſſors and yours, as involving and cruelly violating the intereſt and the rights of the ſick poor in the Hoſpital. As my argument on that ſubject was ſatisfactory to two eminent lawyers whom I conſulted ſeparately, both of whom expreſſed ſtrongly their aſtoniſhment and indignation at that contract, and that ſyſtem which I reprobated, I preſume my argument will be equally ſatisfactory to other lawyers, and to judges, and to all men of competent underſtanding and knowledge, who will fairly attend to it, uninfluenced by paſſion, or intereſt real or ſuppoſed. But from the

the ſtrong hints which you give me in your card, I underſtand that you think ſome of your profeſſional brethren are a good deal influenced by paſſion, and ſome notion of intereſt on this ſubject. I am ſure you would not think ſo without ſufficient reaſon. Such being the caſe, I fear they will not attend to my argument ſo patiently as to perceive the force of it, or at leaſt the neceſſity of anſwering it completely, if they do not think it concluſive; and of courſe may raſhly engage in a conflict, which can do no good, and may do much harm; which cannot be *afflicting to us* in the way which you ſuppoſe, but may be injurious to the ſlender funds of the Hoſpital; and which your brethren who engage in it, may find, when too late, good reaſon to repent bitterly.

After what you have told me of your own ſentiments, and reſolution to leave the deciſion of the buſineſs to the Managers, I hope it is not going too far to beg of you, to uſe your influence with your friends to prevail on them to conſider with attention that part of my argument, and not to engage in any public conflict till they can give an anſwer to it, which to themſelves at leaſt appears fair and ſatisfactory.

On one point, I am ſure, I may with confidence aſk your aſſiſtance, which I ſcarce think you will refuſe me, if you conſider the nature and importance of the object in view, and that it is no matter of favour or partiality to any individual, or any ſet of men, but equally for the good of all, and indeed of the Hoſpital itſelf, and of the public at large. I allude to the mentioning or enquiring into any particular *misfortunes;* or what might be reckoned inſtances of ignorance, incapacity, or miſconduct, in any of the Surgeons who have attended in rotation. I was aware from the firſt, how ſhocking this would be to the public, how injurious to the Hoſpital, and how cruel to the individual Surgeons who had been unfortunate in their honeſt and beſt endeavours to do that duty, to which many of them were unequal; but which, in conſequence

of the cruel ſyſtem eſtabliſhed, they could not decline, without tacitly acknowledging their own deficiencies, and actually ruining themſelves. You will have ſeen by my Memorial how careful I was to avoid every alluſion to particular inſtances, to ſhew that all ſuch enquiries were unneceſſary for my general and benevolent purpoſe, and almoſt inconſiſtent with it; and to deprecate them accordingly, as not only improper in themſelves, but indelicate, and even cruel to ſome individuals; and (I may freely ſay to you) ſuch as could not fail to be very ſhocking to the public at large, and eſpecially to the poor, who, in their utmoſt miſery, might ſoon have occaſion to ſeek that relief which the Infirmary was deſtined to afford them.

I had the vanity to think, as thoſe conſiderations are abundantly obvious, and perfectly undeniable, that I ſhould ſucceed in preventing what would be ſo great an evil to many, and a good to none. I was therefore much ſurpriſed and grieved to learn, (on Wedneſday, the very day that I left Edinburgh, and within forty-eight hours from the time that my Memorial was diſtributed), that ſome particular and perſonal applications had been made, by ſome of your profeſſional brethren, of what I had ſtated in the moſt guarded and general terms, of ſuch misfortunes.

According to my information, two different individuals had, even in that ſhort time, been making the application of my general remarks to themſelves. I declined, as I generally do on all ſuch occaſions, to receive any particular information, or even to be informed of the names of the gentlemen who ſo raſhly ſuppoſed themſelves, or were ſuppoſed by others, to be alluded to in my Memorial.

Certainly no ſuch alluſions were made, or intended, by me; nor did I ever wiſh any ſuch applications to be made of my remarks. It was amply ſufficient for my purpoſe, that the truth and general tenor of them could not be diſputed; and that number-

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leſs particulars relating to them, eſpecially the moſt recent particulars, were much better known to the members of your College, and to many other perſons, than they were to me.

I have no doubt either of the juſtneſs or the ſeverity of the applications that have been made of my remarks. I have no doubt that you, who have given ſuch ſtrict attention for many years to the practice of Surgery in the Royal Infirmary, and who are ſo well qualified to judge of it, could eaſily produce 50 or 100 inſtances, not one of which I ever heard of, but all of them unqueſtionably authentic, and abundantly ſhocking; all of which, or any one of which, would too ſtrongly confirm and illuſtrate my general obſervations.

From what you have ſo properly ſtated in your card to me, I am confident you will never make ſuch an ungenerous and cruel uſe of your knowledge: nor did it occur to me when firſt I read your card, but now it ſtrikes me very ſtrongly, that you muſt allude to thoſe particular applications of my general remarks, when you expreſs ſuch anxiety at the proſpect of a conflict of intereſts and paſſions very afflicting to the Managers. Your card was certainly written that very day, perhaps that very hour when I firſt heard of the beginning of that kind of conflict of intereſts and paſſions, which would indeed be very afflicting to the Managers. But obſerve, if the worſt ſhould happen, it is not my fault.

I foreſaw the probability of ſuch an evil to the Gentlemen of your College; I warned them ſtrongly of it, that they might guard againſt it; I did all in my power to prevent it from the firſt: and I now moſt earneſtly beg of you, who have infinitely more influence with your profeſſional brethren than I have, to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to prevent, or if it be too late, as I fear it is, altogether to prevent that ſort of conflict, at leaſt to reſtrain it, and to prevent it from ever coming before the public. I ſhould think you might eaſily convince even the keeneſt of them, that

however juſt and ſevere their animadverſions on their opponents may be, the ſame obſervations may be eaſily retorted on themſelves or their friends, perhaps with equal truth, and certainly with equal or greater ſeverity. Of the truth of particular aſſertions, and conſequently of the juſtneſs of many remarks and cenſures, the public can never judge: but it can judge eaſily, and will judge unmercifully, of the general tenor of them, and of the temper that has long ſubſiſted in your College. Such a conflict, whatever it may be to the Managers, would be worſe for your brethren than twenty *Dawpluckers*. It would even be very ſhocking to the public, and not in the leaſt for the honour or intereſt of your brethren, if it came to be generally believed, that not profeſſional diſputes alone, bad as theſe are, but corporation politics, have long kept them embroiled; and that the ſame parties which prevail in Surgeons Hall about the election of a Preſident, (or a Deacon, who has a vote in the Town-Council), prevail alſo in full vigour in the conſulting-room, and in the operation-room, of the Royal Infirmary, when the lives or limbs of ſome unhappy patient are at ſtake. This, I hope, is not yet generally known or believed by the public: I am ſure I never heard the leaſt ſurmiſe of it till ſome months after I became a Manager of the Royal Infirmary. But within theſe laſt twelve months I have ſeen ſome things in print, and have heard ſome ſuch reports and particular inſtances, as if generally known would effectually eſtabliſh that very ſhocking belief; which you will obſerve *muſt be true* if it be *believed* and *aſſerted* even by a *ſmall minority* of your College.

But from what I have heard, I ſuſpect rather that it will be atteſted by all the Members of it; each party, of courſe, laying the blame on the other. In this caſe, though it would be difficult or impoſſible to judge which was moſt in fault, it would be impoſſible not to perceive, that at leaſt one party, moſt probably both, were much to blame: It would be impoſſible for any judicious and impartial

impartial perſon not to pronounce with indignation, that that ſyſtem of the promiſcuous attendance and conſultations of the Surgeons, which expoſed the ſick poor to ſuch horrible evils, muſt be fundamentally wrong. It cannot eſcape your obſervation, that while I thus earneſtly entreat you to employ your great influence with your brethren to prevent ſuch enquiries, and ſuch public diſcuſſions, my motive and purpoſe *muſt be pure and honourable*, and can be no other than what I have fully expreſſed. You cannot fail to perceive, that though they are in one point of view foreign to my argument, and unneceſſary to it, they are not ſubverſive of it. It is plain that they tend greatly, too greatly, to ſtrengthen, not to weaken my argument, and the Managers claim. They would ſoon produce all the effect which we want, but they would do a great deal more, which we do not want, and ſhould be very ſorry to ſee. If it ever ſhall be found *neceſſary*, which I am happy to think is not likely to be the caſe, to make them known, it certainly ſhall be done. None of the Managers can be ſuppoſed ſo brainleſs or ſo nerveleſs, as to heſitate a moment between the two wrongs, ſhocking the public with the particular knowledge of ſuch evils, or allowing ſuch ſhocking evils to continue. The former would be virtue, and real kindneſs, in compariſon of the latter.

It would be mere affectation in me, and I am ſure would meet with no credit from you, who know ſo much of the practice of Surgery in the Royal Infirmary, were I to ſay that I had not heard of any recent inſtances (within theſe few years) of ſuch profeſſional misfortunes. But you muſt have ſeen by this time how careful I have been in my Memorial not to allude to them even in the moſt diſtant manner. I am ſure that you yourſelf, who probably know more of the matter than any body, could not, from any thing that I have ſaid, undertake to ſpecify any caſe, or any Surgeon, that I had particularly in view.

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As the moſt convincing proof which can be given that I meant no ſuch particular applications as I underſtand were ſoon made of my general remarks, I ſhall mention to you a few out of many *older* ſtories, ſome of them probably long before your time, though within my memory; and ſuch as within theſe few months I have heard from different perſons who were eye-witneſſes of them.

[For reaſons fully explained already, I ſuppreſs here the particular inſtances which were mentioned in my letter to Mr John Bell: but he has my hearty permiſſion to publiſh them *verbatim* if he pleaſes.]

I obſerve with much pleaſure what you mention in your card, "That nothing could engage you in any public diſpute, nor be "an apology to yourſelf for writing any Pamphlet or Memorial, "except the ſincere hope of being uſeful, or the neceſſary duty of "ſelf-defence." Your reſolution in both theſe reſpects appears to me ſo indiſputably proper and honourable, that it would be ſuperfluous to ſay ſo, or to take any notice of it, were it not that it ſeems to imply ſome apprehenſion on your part, that I (in my Memorial) had either made ſome ſuch attack on you as would oblige you to defend yourſelf in that manner, or elſe that I had blamed you for defending yourſelf when attacked by others. Inſinuations ſo groundleſs, nay, ſo repugnant to the tenor of my Memorial, muſt have proceeded from ſome of thoſe "idle and buſy people," as you very properly call them, who have been amuſing themſelves with fancying ſome ſiniſter motives on my part for what I have done.

As you have probably read my Memorial by this time, I need not tell you that it contains no attack or cenſure on you. On the contrary, in the only two paſſages in which you are alluded to, for you are not mentioned in it, you will find, that it is not only without contumely, but with reſpect and honour: In the one place, as "a man of talents, and for ought I know,

" a very good Surgeon:" In the other, as " the man of the " greateſt talents, and the great leader of one party." This may be erroneous, but it cannot be, nor was it meant to be, injurious to you. If it is erroneous, I ſhall be obliged to you if you will ſet me right. It was written avowedly without any direct or perſonal knowledge, on the faith of current reports, which I had often heard repeated, and never once heard contradicted.

As to the other point to which that paſſage in your card ſeems to relate, ſome ſurmiſe that I had blamed you for having defended yourſelf when attacked in your profeſſional character, I muſt in the firſt place aſſure you ſolemnly, that I never knew or ſuſpected, till I read your card, that you had defended yourſelf againſt ſuch attacks, from Jonathan Dawplucker, or any other body. In the ſecond place, I ſhall tell you frankly, that I think you did perfectly right to defend yourſelf againſt ſuch a virulent attack: nor ſhould I blame you in the leaſt, if on receiving ſuch provocation, (for I have now read that firſt Dawplucker), you have defended yourſelf with much aſperity. Though I never will interfere, or give any opinion in ſuch diſputes, I ſhall be curious to read your defence, from which I expect great entertainment. In the third place, I need not tell you, for you ſurely know it already if you have read my Paper, that there is no ſuch cenſure expreſſed or inſinuated in it; nor can I conceive how ſuch a thing could be ſuppoſed, unleſs perhaps by ſome miſapplication, or miſconſtruing of the Greek epigram, (given as an aphoriſm of Hippocrates), which, like the ironical exhortations to Dawplucker to continue his practice of deplumation, was intended, and I ſhould have thought muſt have been underſtood, as the ſtrongeſt poſſible warning and admonition to all parties to deſiſt from that kind of warfare, by telling them that the perſon, however keen and inveterate, who began the attack, would probably ſoon have the worſt

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of it; like the wicked viper in the epigram, who bit a Cappadocian, but died herſelf as ſoon as ſhe taſted his poiſonous blood.

I am much gratified with the confidence which you expreſs in the impartiality, humanity, and public ſpirit of my Memorial, and for taking the trouble to aſſure me of thoſe ſentiments, even before you read it. I am ſure the reading of it muſt have completely ſatisfied you, that you had done me no more than juſtice in that reſpect. Indeed I think it muſt ſurpaſs the power of human genius or imagination, to ſuppoſe any ſiniſter motive on my part for what I have done. You know, that in my ſituation I have every thing to loſe, and nothing to gain, by any ſuch unworthy conduct.

Allow me, therefore, to point out to you, that there is one, and but one paſſage in your card, which ſeems to do me injuſtice, at leaſt by inſinuation, and which at any rate does not ſuit well with the reſt of your card. You ſay, " you will wait compoſedly the " iſſue of this buſineſs, by which alone the deſign of this addreſs " can be judged of." This ſeems to imply, that the deſign of it may be ſomething different from what is avowed. This I think is impoſſible; and ſo I truſt will you think, when you have read my Paper. But at any rate, I cannot ſee on what principle of logic, or morals, or law, or equity, my deſign can be judged of by the iſſue of the buſineſs; in which (I mean in the ſelection of Surgeons for permanent attendance in the Hoſpital) I have ſolemnly declared that I will take no concern; and in which, if I did take a ſhare, I ſhould be but *one* of twelve, or perhaps twenty men, each of whom would have an equal vote with me, and probably much more influence. If the Managers agree to do what I propoſe, you might reaſonably ſay that ſuch was my deſign. But if they ſhould do ſomething very different, perhaps repugnant to my principles, my reaſonings, and my wiſhes, and almoſt as bad as the preſent ſyſtem, do you think my deſign can be judged of by that,

that, or can I be blamed for it? You might as reaſonably propoſe to hang me for the firſt rape which any of them individually ſhall commit. What happened once may happen again; they may be bribed, as their predeceſſors were in 1738, to do what they all know to be wrong; or the Devil may enter into them fifty different ways; and ſtill I may be as innocent of all their miſconduct as you will be. This I think you muſt acknowledge, if you will attend to it for a moment.

But it is for a much more important purpoſe than remonſtrating with you on that contingent and very improbable injuſtice to myſelf, that I take notice of your inſinuation. I have as perfect confidence as you expreſs in the deciſion of the Managers, as what "will be honourable and impartial, tending only to the public "good;" that is, to the beſt of their judgment, information, and belief. But they are not infallible: and though there can be no doubt that, in the firſt place, they muſt get rid of that abominable contract which has long reſtrained them from doing their duty; and no doubt that they muſt henceforth and for ever take care not to make any bargain with your College, or with any ſet of men, which may hinder them from making occaſionally ſuch changes, and in general doing whatever they think beſt for the ſick poor in the Hoſpital, as their duty requires of them; yet there may be great doubts as to the individuals who ought in the firſt place to be ſelected, and permanently, either for life and good behaviour, or for a term of years, appointed ordinary Surgeons to the Hoſpital.

Though *all* the Members of your College *cannot* be, yet *many* of them certainly *may be*, *equally* well qualified for that duty: many more I am convinced are ſo, than can ever be wanted to do that duty to the beſt advantage; juſt as is the caſe with the College of Phyſicians. I am ſure the Managers would be happy, as indeed it is their duty, to obtain every poſſible information and aſſiſtance to

direct their judgment and choice in ſo important a buſineſs. I have no doubt that you could give them valuable and ſatisfactory information with reſpect to that important concern. What you ſay of your reſolution to wait the iſſue of the buſineſs, and from it to judge of the deſign of my Addreſs, ſeems to imply, that you have already ſome fixed teſt or ſtandard by which you can judge, and mean to decide, on the propriety of the Managers conduct. Would it not be better to communicate this to them without delay? Would it not be better to prevent, or at leaſt to do your beſt endeavours to prevent, any wrong from being done, and to procure the utmoſt good that can be procured to the ſick poor, than to reſerve to yourſelf the means and the power of condemning afterwards the Managers for any wrong that they may have done, perhaps purely for want of ſuch information as you could have given them? Nay, if you thought more unfavourably than you do of the Managers, ſtill it would be right to give them that kind of information, as it would leave them leſs or no excuſe for any wrong they might do, and would give tenfold force to any juſt animadverſions which you or your brethren might make on their conduct. To give your advice, information, and aſſiſtance to the Managers in that reſpect, even publicly and in print, would not be inconſiſtent with your reſolution expreſſed in your card to me. It might naturally reſult from your "ſincere hope of being uſeful." But I ſhould think it ſtill better if you did it more privately, and only in writing. I cannot offer to lay before them any ſuch paper from you; becauſe I have already declared, that I will take no concern in the choice of the Surgeons, either directly or indirectly. But any other of the Managers, I am convinced, will be glad to do it. For the ſame reaſon you will underſtand, that I can neither ſecond nor oppoſe your recommendation of particular Surgeons. But you are welcome to ſtate, that you offered it in conſequence of my ſuggeſtion. I take it for granted, that any ſuch paper from you to the Managers will

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be written on the ſame liberal and honourable principles which are ſo well expreſſed in your card to me, without any ſelfiſh or party views. And I think I can ſafely promiſe for the Managers, that they will faithfully pay due attention to any ſuch communication from you: that is, they will either do as you propoſe, or be ready, whenever there is occaſion, to give good reaſons for not doing ſo. But you muſt not underſtand that I am authoriſed to promiſe for them, or that I think they ſhould promiſe, that they will be directed in their choice by your opinion, or that of any individual of your College. That would be very abſurd: and it would be ſtill more abſurd to be directed by your whole College as a body, or to leave the choice to the majority of your College; for reaſons too obvious to mention, but which ſeem to have been well underſtood and ſtrongly felt by Mr Kennedy and his friends near ſeventy years ago, and which have been too often and too ſtrongly illuſtrated by the conduct of certain Univerſities, which muſt be nameleſs.

As you muſt by this time have read my Memorial from end to end, I truſt you are convinced, that you did me no more than juſtice when you took it for granted, that my Memorial contained nothing inſulting to your profeſſion, or injurious to any individual of your College. But I cannot ſay, with truth, that I think myſelf much obliged to you for ſuch a compliment. To have ſuppoſed otherwiſe of me, would have been to ſuppoſe me ſtark mad; for nothing but perfect infanity could produce or account for ſuch conduct on my part, which on any occaſion would be diſgraceful and ruinous to me, and which, on this occaſion, would have been inconſiſtent with my plan, to obtain the unanimous approbation of all men of ſenſe, and worth, and competent knowledge, and the unanimous concurrence of the gentlemen of your profeſſion, in the meaſure that I propoſed. If I had wronged any individual among them, or inſulted the whole of them by inſulting their profeſſion,

they would ſoon, even before this time, have had full revenge of me. It is poſſible, notwithſtanding all my anxious care to avoid ſuch particular alluſions as could be applied to any individuals, that ſome unlucky and cruel applications may be made of my general remarks. I can only ſay, that I never intended ſuch a wrong to them, but quite the contrary; and that I am very ſorry ſuch a wrong to them ſhould be done by others who have preſumed to make applications which I never meant. But it would be indelicate and cruel, and make bad worſe, to enquire into particulars.

As to any inſults to your profeſſion, nothing could be more repugnant to my real ſentiments, uniformly expreſſed, and, I ſhould think, abundantly teſtified by my conduct all my life to all your profeſſional brethren. You know how our acquaintance began, and how it has continued. If you think it worth your while to enquire, you will find that I have lived preciſely on the ſame footing with all others of your profeſſion; or perhaps you know already, that I never choſe to have any intercourſe or connection with any of them, but what fairly reſulted from the practice of my own; of courſe, I have met times innumerable with thoſe who have the greateſt employment, and very ſeldom, or never, with others of them; and have had much leſs intimacy with ſeveral of them than probably I ſhould have had if they had not been Surgeons, or I not a Phyſician. You cannot ſay there is any thing wrong in that conduct, or that you could even have wiſhed me to have acted otherwiſe. You cannot fail to perceive, that the oppoſite conduct towards your brethren would have been illiberal at leaſt, if not knaviſh, in one of my profeſſion. You cannot, therefore, regard that kind of reſerve on my part as implying any contempt for your profeſſion, or any diſreſpect for thoſe who practiſe it; but quite the contrary, a proper reſpect and delicacy to them, and confidence in their upright conduct. No man can be ſuppoſed to know better the real importance of Surgery, and the reſpect due to men of merit in that profeſſion, than

than a Phyſician, not bred a Surgeon, and who never attempts to practiſe Surgery. You ſurely know what I do, fifty or a hundred times in a year, to patients who, not underſtanding the diſtinctions of our profeſſions, apply to me when they labour under complaints in which I can do them little or no ſervice, and which properly belong to your province; I can do nothing but refer them to the gentlemen of your profeſſion for relief. Or what do you think I ſhould do if myſelf and ſome of my beſt friends had got ſevere wounds, or broken or diſlocated limbs? Do you think I ſhould truſt their lives or limbs, or my own, to the care of a Phyſician, or of a Surgeon? What I have uniformly thought, and ſaid, and done, with reſpect to your profeſſion, I have expreſſed *ſtrongly and repeatedly* in my Memorial. If you know of any thing ſtronger in favour of your profeſſion, and of thoſe who practiſe it, eſpecially of thoſe with whom I am beſt acquainted, though, having no knowledge of the contrary, I preſume the ſame of all the reſt, I beg you will inform me, and I ſhall be happy to avail myſelf of your information the firſt opportunity.

In the mean time I preſume, without any paradox, that I have expreſſed myſelf as I really think of your profeſſion, and of thoſe who practiſe it in this city, with much more eſteem and reſpect than you have generally done, or perhaps would do at preſent. And I doubt much whether many of your profeſſional brethren, if any of them, think and ſpeak as favourably of Phyſic and Phyſicians, as I have done of Surgery and Surgeons. You muſt have ſeen, that in my Memorial I have made no diſtinction but what reſults from their very different conduct in ſimilar circumſtances, between them and Phyſicians. The conduct of the Phyſicians to the Infirmary was liberal and honourable; and muſt have been thought ſo, if it had been done by a Corporation of Chimney Sweepers. The conduct of the Surgeons was juſt the reverſe; and muſt be thought ſo if it were done by a College of Princes. I truſt there neither is, nor ever was,

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(not even excepting Deacon Kennedy and his worthy aſſociates), nor ever will be, in your College, ſo great a Dunce as to ſuppoſe, that the reſpect due to your profeſſion, and to the many men of merit who practiſe it, can be extended, or ought to be extended, to every thing, right or wrong, liberal or ſordid, done by a Corporation of Surgeons, or by any individuals of that Profeſſion. Does your reſpect for your own profeſſion extend to all the operations of Dawplucker? What would you have ſaid or thought of me, if, inſtead of giving the true account of all Medical warfare as it was, and is, and ever will be, and muſt be, I had given ten or a dozen quotations from the firſt Dawplucker? And what would Benjamin Bell and his friends have ſaid or thought of me, if I had given as many choice quotations from the ſecond Dawplucker, in proof of that inveterate rancour, which it was eſſential to my argument, and to the faithful diſcharge of my duty, to ſhew, prevailed among your profeſſional brethren? I ſhould in that caſe have ſaid nothing but the truth; but it would not have been the whole truth.

I thought it more candid, as well as rational, and much more delicate and reſpectful to your College, to ſhew, that ſuch diſputes were not accidental and tranſient, depending on the particular character, talents, and conduct of a few individuals, but in a manner eſſential to the Medical Profeſſion, and at leaſt univerſally found among us. My examples and illuſtrations were taken chiefly from my own profeſſion. You know well why I took them from diſtant ages and nations rather than from our own; and what conſiderations have always reſtrained me, even in the diſcharge of my Academical duty, from diſſecting and anatomiſing, as they deſerve, many of our modern and home-bred medical writers. If any of your brethren, or you in particular, whom I believe to be very well qualified for the taſk, will take the trouble to treat them and their ſyſtems, and their reaſonings, their obſervations, their caſes, their contradictions, their lies, their diſputes, controverſies, and quarrels,

quarrels, as you think they deſerve, I ſhall be much obliged to you, and my ſtudents much more. I took my illuſtrations of Chirurgical warfare chiefly from London; which, I think, was delicate to the Surgeons of Edinburgh; I am ſure it was meant to be ſo. I gave no particular inſtances of ſuch warfare among them, becauſe I thought ſuch inſtances would be cruel, and might even be injurious to ſome individuals; and I referred, for that general information which was indiſpenſably neceſſary in my argument, to books already in print, and much better known to many other people than to me. I treated ſuch warfare with ridicule, rather than with that ſerious and juſt reprehenſion which it deſerved; becauſe it was impoſſible that ſuch ridicule could be really hurtful or injurious to any individuals, and I thought it moſt likely to accompliſh the general good which I had in view. I know there are many

" *Safe from the bar, the pulpit, and the throne,*
" *But touch'd and ſham'd by ridicule alone.*"

My real ſerious object was to ſave the Infirmary the expence, and your College the diſgrace of a lawſuit. Whatever ſome idle buſy people, as you very properly call them, may do, I am ſure you will not diſpute with me, that Phyſic and Surgery are only different branches of the ſame profeſſion; that the ſame innate and inveterate evils pervade and corrupt them both; that the ſcience and the art of both are very imperfect; that they are not only intereſting ſciences and uſeful arts, but trades and crafts, by which thoſe who practiſe them muſt live; that conſequently theſe are neceſſarily rivals, and often bitter enemies to one another; that people in general expect much more from Phyſic and from Surgery, than either the one or the other can do for them; and yet that it would be a cruel wrong to people to undeceive them on this point, if it were poſſible to do ſo, which may well be doubted; that both

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of them muſt be practiſed with a certain kind of ſecrecy; that neither the public, nor the patients themſelves, can in general judge fully and fairly of the real and comparative merits of Phyſicians and Surgeons by their performances, as they may do of Painters and Fidlers, Tailors and Shoemakers; that thoſe who alone can fairly judge of the merits of medical men, have an evident intereſt, and a ſtrong temptation to conceal and decry them, eſpecially when they are very great; and that many of the beſt judges have not been able to reſiſt that temptation; that many medical men (Phyſicians and Surgeons alike) have endeavoured to acquire diſtinction by framing and publiſhing ſyſtems, others by making, (or pretending to make), and publiſhing obſervations, and hiſtories of caſes; the former ſtriving to diſplay their talents, their ſcience, and their learning, the latter to ſhew their accuracy and attention, their ſkill and their ſucceſs; that their ſyſtems are in general erroneous, often viſionary and pernicious, their reaſonings contemptible, their obſervations contradictory, their caſes deceitful; that they overturn one another's ſyſtems, refute one another's reaſonings, controvert one another's facts, and ridicule one another's caſes, without mercy; that even where there is no intended deceit or falſehood, there is always imperfection, and often error in ſtating a caſe; that every caſe may be ſtated, as every ſtory may be told, two or three ways, and perhaps none of them the right way; that publications of caſes are often particularly diſgraceful, and much worſe than any errors in opinions or reaſonings, as many of them have been known, and many more have been ſtrongly ſuſpected to be wilfully falſe; that caſes and obſervations when inconſiſtent cannot be all true, but that they may be all falſe; that the diſputes among medical men about their ſyſtems, their reaſonings, their obſervations, and their caſes, have been numberleſs, endleſs, uſeleſs, violent, implacable, and diſgraceful.

You will not diſpute with me that moſt of theſe things are ſad evils,

evils, and that it would be happy for mankind if they or any of them could be removed, or even leſſened.

I know of nothing ſo likely to have that ſalutary effect, as fairly ſtating them, ſhewing ſome of their bad conſequences, eſpecially the contempt and reproach which they bring on our profeſſion, and treating them with ridicule rather than with grave cenſure. I ſhall be glad to have it ſaid of me, " *Caſtigat ridendo mores.*" If you know of any better means to accompliſh the ſame deſirable end, I heartily wiſh you would employ them. *Si quid noviſti rectius iſtis, candidus imperti: ſi non, his utere mecum.*

In the mean time, you, and your more diſtruſtful Brethren, may ſee from the whole tenor of my Memorial, that I no more meant to inſult your profeſſion, than to inſult my own; or to inſult my own Students, and their Societies; or to inſult the Government of my country, and Religion itſelf; becauſe I have treated with ridicule the diſputes of Phyſicians, the common errors of medical Students, the common abuſes of their Societies, the fooliſh debates and diſgraceful party ſpirit which too often prevail in popular Aſſemblies, and the ſtill more hateful diſputes and rancorous warfare of angry controverſial Divines.

To you, even before you read my Paper, ſtill more after reading it, all this long diſcuſſion would be uſeleſs. But it may be of ſome uſe to many men of ſenſe, and worth, and candour, who have not taken the trouble to read my Memorial, and who raſhly judge of it from one or two paſſages, without knowing the leaſt of its general tenor and purpoſe. As to thoſe idle buſy people, whoſe veracity, as well as underſtanding, you ſeem to hold in juſt contempt, it is impoſſible to ſet them right; and I truſt you are too wiſe a man to attempt it. They are beyond the reach of argument or reaſon.

Whatever ſuch men may think of me, you, I am ſure, cannot think me ſuch an aſs, as ever to have expected to do the great

public good which I intended, without incurring the foulest suspicions and reproaches of the vulgar, the ignorant, and the malicious.

I know there are many people who do not believe in Virtue, or understand it, or know what it is. That is the worst of vice, and incapable of reform. " *Malheur à ceux qui cessent à croire a la* " *Vertu.*"

The suspicions and reproaches of such men are not indifferent to me; they are acceptable, and part of my reward for doing what is right. They tend to give me some distinction, in common with the greatest, the wisest, and the best men in the nation; and they will never discompose my philosophy.

It is long since I knew the fable of the Mastiff and his Whelp, who were going through a village together. All the little dogs came out and barked at them. " Father," said the Whelp, " why " don't you worry these nasty curs that bark at you?" " Child," said the old dog, " if there were no curs, I should be no Mastiff."

I trust the length of this *Epistolaccio* will be an excuse for the delay in sending it.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your obliged and most obedient servant,

J. GREGORY.

Such were the arguments and explanations by which I endeavoured to convince Mr John Bell and his adherents of the injustice which they did to me, and the still greater wrong which they were likely to do to themselves, by persisting in mistaking, or misrepresenting, the tenor and purpose of my Memorial. By such means I hoped to have prevented any such answers and publications, as that one with which he has favoured the world.

At

At Phœbi nondum patiens immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum ſi pectore poſſit
Excuſſiſſe Deum: tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.
Oſtia jamque domus patuere ingentia centum
Sponte ſua, vatiſque ferunt reſponſa per auras.

Happy indeed it was for all concerned that I did not ſucceed in that well meant but ill judged attempt. There can be no doubt, that the head of Jupiter, or the belly of Garagantua, muſt have burſt, if they had been pregnant with ſo many vaſt conceptions, and had not been allowed to give them vent. Then would the world have been deprived for ever, not only of Mr John Bell's ineſtimable anſwer to my Memorial, but of numberleſs other works, probably not leſs admirable, which may reaſonably be expected from his inexhauſtible matrix.

That I may not incur the reproach of ſuppreſſing any part of a correſpondence ſo honourable to him, or of telling only part of the truth, I ſubjoin three other pieces of our correſpondence, which, with the preceding five, make the whole of it. But for the right underſtanding of theſe I muſt premiſe, that the firſt time I met Mr John Bell after his anſwer to my Memorial was publiſhed, I addreſſed him with the ſame frankneſs and good humour as on all former occaſions, thanked him for the copy of it which he had ſent me, and for the work altogether, which I aſſured him, with perfect truth, had afforded me much entertainment and gratification, and told him that he was heartily welcome to uſe all manner of freedom with every thing that I wrote. Theſe declarations he received very graciouſly, and replied to them in the moſt polite terms. At parting I reminded him of the copy of the Surgeons Memorial (1737), which he had applied to Mr Jardine to borrow from me

for his uſe, when he was writing his anſwer to me; and which, as it had been in his hands for ſome weeks, I preſumed he had done with, and begged him to return to me. This he moſt politely promiſed to do.—That ſame evening I had the honour to receive from him the following letter.

N° VI.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR very generous manner of receiving me in the ſtreets, and the terms in which you addreſſed me, convince me of your liberal diſpoſitions, and remind me ſtrongly of the many kind things you were pleaſed to ſay of me at a time of life when ſuch attentions were to me of more importance than now, and could not be unacceptable to any man.

Your continued liberality encourages me to anſwer that card which you did me the honour to addreſs to me ſome months ago. I am happy to find that I may now remind you of your former liberal invitation, " that though we were neceſſarily opponents, " there was no reaſon why we ſhould be enemies." I hope to be allowed the benefit of this expreſſion.—I remember indeed nothing but kindneſs on your part towards me, and ſhall always take a pleaſure in ſhowing Dr Gregory every mark of reſpect.

Believe me, Sir, in ſincerity and friendſhip,

Your moſt obedient,

JOHN BELL.

George's Street, N° 9.

N° VII.

N° VII.

St Andrew's Square, Sunday Evening, Dec. 7. 1800.

DEAR SIR,

I am very ſorry, and to ſay the truth, ſomewhat ſurpriſed, that you ſhould have ſuppoſed me capable of ſuch fooliſh and illiberal conduct, as to take amiſs your Pamphlet in anſwer to my Memorial. I have on the contrary been much entertained and gratified with it. And if you choſe to ſpeak out all that you think, I preſume you would ſay you thought yourſelf much obliged to me for giving you ſo fine an opportunity to diſplay your talents. Perhaps I may yet give you another: but this I cannot abſolutely promiſe; for it muſt depend on my finding leiſure for it; as to inclination, I have enough. Any thing that I ſhall write on the ſubject, you ſhall be heartily welcome to uſe all manner of freedom with: to diſſect and anatomiſe it in your beſt manner. *Hanc veniam petimuſque damuſque viciſſim.* There are many points on which we differ ſo much, that to argue about them with one another would be uſeleſs and endleſs: for example, the Clinical Lectures. I ſhould wiſh, if I can find time, to ſtate *ſeriouſly* my thoughts of them. Many other things in your pamphlet I ſhould treat only with good-humoured raillery.

If you do not know it already, I have the pleaſure to inform you, that by your laſt publication you have completely won the heart of your old enemy Judas Johnſon, Eſq; who is quite charmed with it, and declares he had no notion that you were a man of ſuch talents.

I am your obliged and moſt obedient ſervant,

J. GREGORY.

P. S. I ſhall be obliged to you if you will return me by the bearer the Surgeons Memorial.

To Mr John Bell.

N° VIII.

N° VIII.

Mr Bell returns the Memorial to Dr Gregory with his reſpectful compliments; wiſhes him all poſſible ſucceſs in his new enterpriſe, which he truſts will be as profitable for the Clinical School, as his firſt was for the School of Surgery—and as acceptable to his old friend Judas Johnſton as any thing Mr Bell can write.

George's Street, N° 9.

SINCE the laſt of the preceding letters was written, and even ſince the greater part of the preceding pages was printed off, an event has occurred which will afford the public ſome amuſement, and will ſave me much trouble.

The Royal College of Surgeons (that is to ſay the majority of that Society) has brought the general queſtion in diſpute between them and the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, I mean the validity of the bargain, or ſuppoſed contract, between their predeceſſors and ours in 1738, before a Court of Juſtice.

This, of courſe, precludes all further reaſonings or illuſtrations from me on that point; for, in the firſt place, they muſt now be quite unneceſſary, as every thing that I could urge, and much more, will be ſtated much better, and to much better purpoſe, in the proper place, by our counſel learned in the law; and, in the ſecond place, I do not think it quite proper for me to meddle with a queſtion which is now under conſideration in a Court of Juſtice. Neither the torrent of abuſe poured out on me by Mr John Bell in his Pamphlet, nor the conduct of his Brethren who firſt employed him to write that Pamphlet, and then, by their vote of thanks to him,

him, ſanctioned it and adopted it as their own, can make it right for me to offer any opinion or argument on the queſtion, which the Court muſt decide. I therefore, with much pleaſure, change the plan of this Memorial; and, in the following pages, ſhall confine my remarks to certain particulars contained in Mr John Bell's pamphlet, which, as intereſting to me perſonally, or to the Managers as a body corporate, or to the public at large, ſeem to require ſome animadverſion, but are totally unconnected with the legal queſtion now at iſſue.

EVEN in the letters prefixed by Mr John Bell to his anſwer to my Memorial, there are ſome things which muſt not be allowed to paſs unnoticed.

In the firſt of them we are informed, that "at a meeting of the "Junior Members of the Royal College of Surgeons, it was re- "ſolved, that Mr John Bell be requeſted to draw up an anſwer to "Dr Gregory's Memorial, to be preſented to the Managers of the "Royal Infirmary at their firſt meeting, for the purpoſe of doing "away thoſe groſs miſrepreſentations of the character and conduct "of the younger Surgeons contained in the ſaid Memorial."

This reſolution is expreſſed in ſuch a manner, as to make every reader believe that *all* the junior Surgeons agreed in that reſolution and requeſt, and in thinking that I in my Memorial had groſsly miſrepreſented their character and conduct.

But the fact is, all the junior Surgeons did not concur in that reſolution; nor do I believe that they were all at that meeting, or even knew of ſuch a meeting being called: and moſt certainly they did not all agree in thinking that I had miſrepreſented their character and conduct; for ſeveral of them keenly adopted the ſame ſenti-

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ments and principles which I had expreſſed, and avowed them in the ſtrongeſt poſſible terms. Such has been the conduct of Meſſ. Andrew Inglis, William Brown, John Thomſon, George Bell, William Newbigging, and John Allan. It is but juſtice to theſe Gentlemen to mention their names, as it would be highly injurious to them to have it believed by the public that they concurred with the majority of their brethren, the junior Surgeons, in ſo unjuſt and abſurd an opinion of my Memorial, and in the reſolution to requeſt Mr John Bell to write an anſwer to it.

The peruſal of my Memorial muſt convince every intelligent and candid perſon, that nothing unjuſt, or even unfavourable, with reſpect to the junior Surgeons, is ſaid or intended by me; and the conduct of theſe ſix gentlemen of that claſs, affords complete proof that it is not the accidental circumſtance of being a junior Surgeon, nor yet any miſrepreſentation of the character and conduct of the junior Surgeons as a claſs or body of men, which ſome of them have ſo boldly imputed to me, that makes any one of them think unfavourably of my Memorial, or differ in opinion from me as to the evils reſulting from their promiſcuous attendance in the Infirmary by rotation.

For any individual to miſrepreſent groſsly the character and conduct of the junior members of any Society or Corporation, appears to me ſo abſurd a folly, as can be accounted for only on the ſuppoſition of downright inſanity; eſpecially when it is evidently for the honour, the intereſt, and the comfort of ſuch an individual to live on good terms with every member of that Society.

There are ſome Members of the Royal College of Surgeons, both junior and ſenior, whom I do not know by ſight, and others whom I do not know even by character, and of whom I neither know nor ever heard any evil. It is evidently impoſſible that I ſhould have any wiſh to injure ſuch men, either collectively or individually, by miſrepreſenting their character and conduct. And, in fact, ſo far

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am I from thinking unfavourably of the character and conduct of the Junior Surgeons, or from having in my Memorial ſaid any thing injurious of them, in compariſon of the Senior Members of their College, that I have been at much pains to expreſs and to eſtabliſh an almoſt oppoſite ſentiment.

If it will afford them any ſatisfaction or comfort, I ſhall aſſure them, that to my certain knowledge *ſome* of the Junior Surgeons are very greatly ſuperior in talents and knowledge to *ſome* of the Senior Surgeons. But that *all* the Juniors ſhould be ſuperior to *all* the Seniors; or that *all* the Juniors ſhould be equal, or nearly equal, to one another in talents and profeſſional knowledge; or that the worſt of the Juniors ſhould be better than the beſt of their Seniors, or at leaſt as good as them; or that it ſhould be a matter of perfect indifference to the ſick poor in the Hoſpital, what Surgeon, or how many Surgeons in rotation, ſhall have the care of them:—all theſe are ſuch things as I never can believe, or expect any credit from men of ſenſe if I ſhould profeſs to believe.

As little can I believe that Surgeons do not improve by much experience; and that, from the nature of their profeſſion, it is impoſſible that they ſhould improve by experience; which is the doctrine now maintained by Mr John Bell and his adherents. I believe the merit of the diſcovery is entirely their own; and I ſcarce think any perſon will chooſe to diſpute it with them.

From the boldneſs with which Mr John Bell aſſerts it, in his anſwer to my Memorial, and from his total ſilence with reſpect to the very oppoſite opinion, which was ſtrongly aſſerted by Deacon Kennedy and his aſſociates as ſelf-evident and undeniable, and ſeemingly admitted as ſuch by the Managers and by the public more than ſixty years ago, and indeed ever ſince, and on the faith of which the bargain in 1738 was concluded, it is plain that Mr John Bell and his adherents have completely *ſhifted their ground.* They now contend for the validity and continuance of that bar-

gain, *not* as being for the good of the Surgeons, and in a manner neceſſary for their improvement, though at the riſk and expence of the ſick poor in the Hoſpital, but as not in the leaſt for the good of the Surgeons, who, from the hour in which they finiſh their apprenticeſhips, and become Members of the Royal College of Surgeons, have attained the higheſt profeſſional ſkill, and manual dexterity as operators; ſo that the only principles on which they now contend for that bargain, and for their own promiſcuous attendance by rotation, are, that theſe things are honourable and gratifying to the Surgeons, and, though not poſitively good, at leaſt not bad, but quite indifferent to the ſick poor in the Hoſpital.

I give Mr John Bell great credit for this new and maſterly piece of generalſhip; ſhifting his ground completely, when he found his former poſition not quite ſo tenable as it had at firſt been thought; and greater credit ſtill for the ſuperior genius he has ſhewn, in now chooſing a poſition which, to men of ordinary talents, or plain common ſenſe, muſt appear abſolutely untenable. One point he undoubtedly ſecures by it; his brethren can loſe nothing, even if their cauſe ſhall be decided againſt them. As it is not now for the ſake of any improvement to themſelves that they are ſo eager to give their laborious ſervices; if they ſhall be prevented from doing this, they will be ſaved an infinite deal of trouble; they will be preſerved from all thoſe riſks to themſelves, in point of fame and fortune, which might accidentally have reſulted from the bad ſucceſs of various pieces of chirurgical practice, or from a fatal event of a capital operation, however dexterouſly performed; while ſtill their honour will remain entire; and their good intentions no man can take from them.

If the corporation of Bakers had been accuſtomed to furniſh the patients in the Infirmary with bread, the corporation of Butchers to furniſh them with meat, the Tailors with clothes, the Shoemakers with ſhoes, the Barbers with ſhaving; and if all theſe ſeveral corporations

rations had been accuſtomed to furniſh their reſpective commodities and good offices *gratis*, as the Surgeons have done their ſervices; and if the Managers, perhaps from ſome notion of getting better bread, and meat, and clothes, and ſhoes, and ſhaving, from a few individuals of each corporation, choſe to employ but a few inſtead of all the members of them, the others, though ſtill willing to give their aid as before, could not complain of any loſs that they ſuſtained, or any wrong done to them; and as long as their Chriſtian charity and brotherly love continued in vigour, they could never fail to find plenty of objects on whom they might beſtow their good offices.

But whatever merit Mr John Bell may have in contriving ſo new an argument and ſtate of the caſe, which I dare ſay will aſtoniſh at leaſt, and perhaps puzzle the ableſt lawyers that are oppoſed to him, I muſt think he and his friends have carried the joke rather too far, when they reproach me with miſrepreſenting the character and conduct of the Junior Surgeons; for they muſt have perceived that I took the fact as ſtated by thoſe very Surgeons who made the bargain with the Managers; but I conſidered that fact relatively to the poor patients, while Meſſ. Kennedy and Co. conſidered it only in relation to the Junior Surgeons, and the improvement which at that time they avowedly ſtood much in need of, and hoped to acquire by practiſing in the Hoſpital. To be committed to the care of ſuch Surgeons, who needed ſuch improvement, and practiſed in hopes of acquiring it, was ſurely a cruel wrong to the patients.

I ſhould have thought it more candid, as well as more rational in Mr John Bell, to have given me due praiſe for expoſing the turpitude and atrocity of Deacon Kennedy's argument; to have declared, that he agreed with me in reprobating the bargain made on that deteſtable principle; and after diſclaiming it in the ſtrongeſt terms, to have proceeded to ſtate and illuſtrate fully his own new prin-

ciple and noble diſcovery, that Surgeons have no need of experience, and can be no better for it.

As the moſt concluſive fact and argument that I can mention, in proof that I neither miſrepreſented nor wiſhed to miſrepreſent the character and conduct of the Junior Members of the College of Surgeons, I ſhall ſtate one curious particular with reſpect to the behaviour of two of them on this occaſion. I do it with peculiar pleaſure, becauſe I think their behaviour has done them very great honour. It would be improper here to mention their names; thoſe whom it moſt concerns, and probably ſome others, will underſtand perfectly to whom and to what I allude.

From the experience which I have had of them and they of me, I am ſure that no Members of their College can be leſs inclined than theſe two are to do any thing kind or obliging to me. None can think more unfavourably of me, both in point of underſtanding and candour, than they have publicly and in print declared that they did; the one I mean as the author of a certain anonymous pamphlet, the other as his intimate confidential friend, who knew and approved of the compoſition and publication of it.

In that pamphlet I was reproached, in very bitter and ſarcaſtic terms, with groſs ignorance, bad reaſoning, and ſhameful diſingenuity, no leſs, indeed, than ſuppreſſing part, and conſequently miſrepreſenting the whole, of the doctrine of a celebrated philoſopher, whoſe opinions I had taken the liberty to controvert.

It would be impertinent here to mention the ſubject of our controverſy; but it is proper to ſay, that it did not in the leaſt relate either to Phyſic or Surgery.

As I am never in the leaſt diſpoſed to be angry in ſuch controverſies, and generally am much gratified and amuſed, when I find myſelf *unjuſtly* charged with doing wrong, which I knew was the caſe at that time, I made a fair and calm attempt, which probably the author of the pamphlet little expected, to convince him of the groſs

groſs injuſtice that he had done me, and of ſome of the many errors of his own reaſonings. Both theſe points I *knew* I could eſtabliſh in ſuch a manner as to preclude all rational diſpute about them.

I was tempted to make the trial, becauſe I obſerved, on reading the pamphlet, ſome evident proofs of quickneſs and acuteneſs in the author of it, and a good ſpecimen of knowledge of at leaſt one branch of ſcience, Chemiſtry. His defects and his faults, of which his pamphlet amply teſtified, ſeemed to me ſuch as might eaſily be ſupplied and corrected. The petulance of his ſtyle, and the ſtrange injuſtice he had done me, I imputed to great youth and total inexperience, which faults are more generally mended than any others that I know of. The errors in his reaſonings, which were ſuch as to ſhew total ignorance of the firſt principles of demonſtrative reaſoning, (logical or mathematical), I was ſure could proceed from nothing but a defect in his education; for I have had occaſion to ſee many examples of the ſame kind. Much as I diſtruſt what is commonly called metaphyſicks, I was confident that as ſoon as I ſhould point out to him the well eſtabliſhed principles of reaſoning, which he had unknowingly violated, he would find it *impoſſible* to diſpute them. As to his acknowledging his error, that, of courſe, was to be juſt as he pleaſed; it was entirely his buſineſs, not mine: I could ſuffer no evil from his not doing it; he might ſuffer a great deal.

I was encouraged to make the trial, by the circumſtance of his pamphlet being anonymous, and my not knowing who the author was, nor even ſuſpecting that he lived in Edinburgh; for his work was publiſhed in London. I thought I had a better chance of meeting with patient and candid attention from an unknown author who had got into ſuch a ſcrape, than from one whoſe name was publicly known, and who, of courſe, would probably make it

a point of honour not to acknowledge his error, however groſs, or however clearly pointed out to him.

I wrote to the unknown author of the pamphlet, committing my letter to the care of his London bookſeller and publiſher. I remonſtrated with him, but in very mild terms, on the raſhneſs and impropriety of his conduct towards me, and even of the injuſtice he did me, in publiſhing ſuch a work, without allowing me to ſee it, at leaſt after it was in print, and to have an opportunity, either of acknowledging the error of my reaſoning, if ſuch error was pointed out to me, or of giving him my reaſons for thinking that his reaſoning, not mine, was erroneous. Such was the tenor of the offer I had made to all whom it might concern, when I publiſhed that book which he had treated ſo roughly. But that offer, though ſurely a very candid, and not a very common one, he had thought fit to diſregard.

I told him in my letter, what muſt have been very ſurpriſing to him, and, if he believed it, very mortifying alſo, that his great objection to my argument, the one on which he ſeemed chiefly to value himſelf, and on which he had founded his ſevere charge of ſuppreſſing part of the doctrine of my adverſary, and conſequently miſrepreſenting the whole of it, was not new to me; that it had been ſuggeſted to me by a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed talents, to whoſe reviſion, as well as to that of many others, I had ſubmitted my work long before it was publiſhed. I told him the name and character of this gentleman, which *muſt* have convinced him that there was no *wilful diſingenuity* in my reaſonings. To the beſt of my remembrance, but I am not quite ſure of this, I offered to let him ſee that gentleman's letter, containing the ſame objection which he (the anonymous author) had urged ſo ſtrongly againſt my work; and told him, that the reaſon why that objection, and my anſwer to it, were not publiſhed in the appendix to my book, was, that the

author

author of the objection, when I aſked his permiſſion to publiſh it with my anſwer to it, did not chooſe to allow it to be publiſhed, being convinced *at once*, whenever he heard even the *beginning* of my anſwer to it, that he was miſtaken on that point, that his objection was untenable, and that my anſwer to it was fair and complete.

I offered, if he would allow me, without ever knowing or enquiring about his name, of which I aſſured him I had no gueſs or ſuſpicion, to correſpond with him on the ſubject of his pamphlet, and to point out to him what I conceived to be the errors of his reaſonings. I think I promiſed to him, that any objections or anſwers to his argument that I might give him in writing, ſhould be ſuch only as I was afterwards to print and publiſh; and that I ſhould print nothing that he might give me in writing without his own expreſs conſent; and that I ſhould return him his papers if he pleaſed.

After many weeks, I received an anſwer from my anonymous adverſary, acknowledging the receipt of my letter, and my propoſal *ſeemingly* ſo candid; telling me, that I might probably ſoon learn his name, and therefore incloſing a ſealed paper containing his name, which paper he told me I might open, if I choſe to carry on the correſpondence which I had propoſed.

Buſineſs much more intereſting to myſelf than a philoſophical controverſy with an anonymous author, who ſeemed reſolved, right or wrong, to put the moſt unfavourable conſtruction poſſible on every thing that I ſaid or did, worſe even than I ſhould have thought poſſible, and who choſe to doubt of my candour (as I judged from his moſt characteriſtic adverb *ſeemingly*) when I made him the moſt unequivocally candid offer that one man could make to another, prevented me from writing to him for many months. Before I found leiſure to write to him, I was informed, by his confidential friend, with his conſent, of his name.

I had the honour of the company of them both together one day in my houſe, by invitation. I put into his hands his own ſealed paper, containing his name, unopened, as I received it, that he might ſee I had made no improper uſe of that confidence which he had put in me. I had intended to ſend him back that paper unopened, along with the firſt ſpecimen of my mode of replying to his pamphlet, and let him then chooſe whether he would let me know his name or not.

I put into his hands a few of many letters that I had received from different men of ſcience, who had read my book before it was publiſhed, and who had given me their remarks on it; ſuch letters as *muſt* have convinced him that there was no diſingenuity or intended ſuppreſſion or miſrepreſentation on my part, and *might* have convinced him that he, not I, was miſtaken with reſpect to the import of a certain doctrine, about which we had differed ſtrangely, while I endeavoured to refute, and he to maintain it. I ſuſpect that if he did not ſee clearly, he at leaſt had a glimpſe of what was implied in thoſe letters; for though he had at firſt very candidly acknowledged the impropriety of his conduct, in publiſhing his pamphlet without allowing me previouſly to ſee it, I obſerved that he went no farther, and did not expreſs any ſenſe of having done me injuſtice, or of having fallen into any error in his own reaſonings. Indeed he maintained ſo ſtrict and cautious a reſerve, that I could not have known, from any thing that he ſaid, whether he even underſtood what I ſaid to him on any one of the points about which we differed.

If I had obſerved this reſerve on his part on one or two points only, I ſhould have ſuppoſed that he really did not underſtand me, and of courſe ſhould have endeavoured to explain and illuſtrate my meaning more fully than I did at firſt. But as his reſerve was uniform on every point that became the ſubject of diſcourſe, even on that great one which I had mentioned to him in my letter, which had

had been anticipated by another gentleman, whoſe letter I ſhewed him, and which had been cleared up to that gentleman's ſatisfaction, by an explanation and anſwer, that I gave in the ſame very few words to my gueſts, as he had underſtood at once and been ſatisfied with, I judged that the reſerve which I thought ſo remarkable was the reſult of prudence, and a reſolution, which I could not blame, to make no raſh conceſſion.

As it would have been rude and inhoſpitable to urge my gueſt any farther on ſuch a ſubject, I turned the diſcourſe to other ſubjects at that time; but, in a few weeks after, I gave him in writing a ſmall and *gentle* ſpecimen of the errors of his reaſoning, carefully avoiding any mention of his violations of the fundamental principles of reaſoning, and ſelecting for the ſubject of my remarks the moſt luminous paſſage in his pamphlet, the one which I preſume he himſelf was moſt delighted with, and certainly the one which had afforded me the greateſt entertainment. It was indeed ſuch a paſſage as, if it had been introduced in a *viva voce* debate, and in an anſwer to which there could be no reply, would have been thought perfectly concluſive in point of argument, and an admirable ſpecimen, not only of a lively imagination, but of great quickneſs and acuteneſs in reaſoning.

It was a kind of parody, or very cloſe imitation, of a peculiar mode of reaſoning which I had employed, and in which the ableſt men of my acquaintance, after conſidering it for ſeveral years, could find no error. The parody on it was evidently, what it was intended to be, ſtark nonſenſe; yet the reſemblance of it to my original ſerious argument was ſo cloſe and perfect in every reſpect but one, and this one, though very important, ſo little obvious to any perſon who had not maturely conſidered the ſubject, that I am convinced the author of the pamphlet, and probably ninety-nine in the hundred of his readers, never once thought of it, or ſuſpect-

ed that there was any omiſſion in the lively and ludicrous parody on my reaſoning.

As the ſubject was perfectly familiar to me, I perceived the omiſſion before I had read two lines of his propoſition, and could at once have explained to him, either in common or in mathematical language, what the difference was between his parody and my argument, and could have convinced him, that his muſt be nonſenſe, (which he meant it to be), even ſuppoſing mine to be a ſtrict logical or mathematical demonſtration.

This I did in the writing which I gave him, and which, after many months, he returned to me, with a reply preciſely of the ſame kind, in point of reaſoning, with his anonymous pamphlet. It contained another very cloſe parody on my argument in my reply to him, but with the ſame defect or omiſſion as in his former parody, and a repetition of his former violations of the beſt eſtabliſhed principles of reaſoning, with one or two additional ſpecimens of the ſame kind, equally indiſputable as it appeared to me, and equally characteriſtic of a great defect, not of underſtanding, but of education and knowledge.

As I had by that time gone too far to ſtop ſhort with him, I reſolved to ſhew him in one or two inſtances, or more if there ſhould be occaſion, what *indiſputable* errors in point of reaſoning he had committed. But firſt I took the precaution to hint to his friend ſeparately, that I ſuſpected my antagoniſt was very little acquainted with the principles of that kind of reaſoning which he had endeavoured to employ. At this ſurmiſe his friend ſeemed much aſtoniſhed, and no leſs indignant, and aſſured me *that* could not be: but on my aſking him to come to my houſe next morning, and there ſhewing him his friend's written paper, and calling his attention to two particular paſſages in it, I had the pleaſure to find, that he perceived the ſame errors in them which I had obſerved;

and

and this he did without my having occaſion to tell him what the errors were. One of thoſe errors he did not obſerve at firſt, but on my begging him to ſubſtitute arithmetical numbers for the algebraical ſymbols that his friend had employed, juſt by way of illuſtration, and then to obſerve the reſult, he diſcovered the error immediately. The other error to which I wiſhed to call his attention, he perceived at once, without any help or hint from me, though it certainly was leſs obvious than the former, as depending on a more abſtruſe general principle of ſcience, which the writer had unknowingly violated.

Having learned by ſome years experience how to deal with ſuch diſputants, ſo as to bring them to a full point, in my next paper I pointed out to the author of the pamphlet the omiſſion in his ſecond parody, the impropriety of conſidering a parody as a proper anſwer to an argument, and ſome of the many groſs violations of the fundamental principles of reaſoning that he had committed; and concluded my rejoinder to him nearly in theſe words: "From "what I have ſaid, you muſt be ſenſible that either you or I do "not know what ſtrict logical and mathematical reaſoning is. "What then, you may ſay, is to be done? Briefly this: conſider "patiently what I have ſtated: if you think me right, ſay ſo at "once, like a man of ſenſe and candour; if you think me wrong, "reviſe your own argument, make what corrections or improve-"ments in it you think neceſſary, and give it me in the form in "which you wiſh it to be publiſhed. I engage to print it exactly "in your own words, with my anſwer to it, on the principles "which you have ſeen."

This was the teſt which I had uniformly propoſed to all thoſe with whom I attempted to reaſon about my Eſſay, as the beſt or only proof that I could conceive of our arguing on both ſides with candour and honeſt love of truth; not for victory or diſtinction, or from mere pride and obſtinacy. With only one exception, and

this one of no conſequence, it had invariably anſwered my purpoſe. Of many perſons on whom I had occaſion to try it, only one had ſuch confidence in his objections, after ſeeing my anſwers to them, as to allow me to print them; and even this one would not put his name to his objections. Nor could I regard them as of any conſequence; for not only there were very groſs and indiſputable errors in his reaſonings, on one important point amounting to a perfect *Bull*, but there were in his diſcourſe ſeveral determined miſrepreſentations of my argument.

My uſual teſt ſucceeded perfectly with my antagoniſt, the author of the anonymous pamphlet; indeed it operated like a charm. In four and twenty hours I got back the papers, and along with them received from him a letter, in which he declined all further private correſpondence with me, deſired me to uſe what freedom I pleaſed with his printed pamphlet, but requeſted that his written papers might be committed to the flames. This requeſt, of courſe, was inſtantly complied with; though in burning them I at the ſame time burned about a third part of my own anſwer to them, which, for the ſake of eaſy and immediate reference, had been written on the alternate pages of his paper, that had by him been left blank.

This curious correſpondence was going on between the months of January 1796 and October 1797. From that time to this my antagoniſt has not once ſpoken to me, or appeared even to know me when we met in the ſtreets, as we have done very often; and I dare ſay he never will ſpeak to me again: nor do I wiſh that he ſhould; for though I bear him no ill-will, and ſhould be very glad to have an opportunity to convince him of that by doing him any good office in my power, yet I hold myſelf indiſpenſably bound, the more ſo for what I have here ſtated, to diſſect and anatomiſe his pamphlet *ſecundum artem*. But it ſhall be done in ſuch a manner, that he ſhall find neither ſuppreſſion nor miſrepreſentation, nor any kind of diſingenuity in my diſcourſe.

His

His friend has not thought it neceſſary to carry his reſentment quite ſo far; we ſpeak when we meet, but not on that tender ſubject; and I had the pleaſure of receiving a moſt edifying letter from him, along with the papers and the letter from the author of them deſiring me to burn them, and declining all further correſpondence with me. In this letter he (the friend of the author) had the goodneſs to tell me, that he thought the author perfectly right in every thing that he had written, and in declining all further intercourſe with me, conſidering the tone of my laſt paper to him. This was the more edifying to me, that it ſeemed to imply his having diſcovered, that thoſe very points were *right* which he had perceived or thought, as I had thought, to be notoriouſly and indiſputably *wrong*.

Even from this brief account of our correſpondence it may be judged, that thoſe two gentlemen were not much diſpoſed to hurt their conſciences in order to gratify me; and it may fairly be preſumed, that they would rather have gone to the utmoſt limit that conſcience would allow them to thwart and ſpite me. But what I have ſtated is not the worſt of it: My Eſſay, which the author of the pamphlet choſe to run his head againſt with ſo little ceremony, was in its nature and object the moſt provoking and unpardonable work that ever appeared in ſcience. It was compoſed and publiſhed *avowedly*, not only to detect a favourite ſophiſm, and an error in ſcience, which many modern philoſophers have maintained with the greateſt arrogance, but alſo to expoſe them to reproach and ridicule, by ſhewing demonſtrably that they had never believed it. In ſhort, I undertook both to detect their ſophiſm, and to convict them of falſehood. This had very generally been ſuſpected, and even ſaid; but the means of proving it had not occurred to any perſon before me.

Conſcious, on the one hand, that I meant only ſtrictneſs and ſeverity, but no injuſtice or diſingenuity, to any individual, or to any

any ſet of men; and perfectly aware, on the other hand, what general contempt and juſt reproach I muſt have brought on myſelf if I failed in my argument, and in the provoking inference which I deduced as a corollary from it; or even if I did not allow my antagoniſts every poſſible opportunity of vindicating themſelves, and refuting my argument; I carefully, for many years, took all the precautions that I have already mentioned, and gave to thoſe whom it concerned the moſt ample opportunities of vindicating themſelves. But every experiment of this kind, while it was a ſort of trial of the validity of my reaſoning, was as certainly and directly a trial of the underſtanding and veracity of the perſon on whom it was made. It was really a trial, as they muſt generally have felt, whether they could even *attempt* to vindicate themſelves, and refute my argument, without affording additional and moſt convincing proof of every thing that I had ſaid unfavourable of them, either in point of judgment or candour. And this ungracious kind of teſt was the only proof I ever could expect to have from them that they found my reaſoning valid, and my harſh inference with reſpect to them juſt and irrefragable; for, ſuppoſing me to have been right in every reſpect, and them to have been ſenſible of it, I was ſure they would never acknowledge it.

But the author of the anonymous pamphlet ſtood in a very peculiar ſituation, and the worſt of all.

Notwithſtanding his own confident general aſſertions of his belief, I could eaſily have vindicated him in point of veracity, by ſhewing, even on the evidence of the particulars ſtated in his own pamphlet, that the doctrine for which he contended ſo ſtrenuouſly was not the one which I had undertaken to refute; and conſequently, that my arguments and concluſions did not in the leaſt affect him or his reaſonings. Nay, I was ready to have told him, that I ſhould never diſpute, and that if, on mature deliberation, he thought it worth while to contend for his own doctrine, or

thought

thought it of any conſequence, I ſhould admit it in its full extent, as ſtated by himſelf. But ſuch vindication of his veracity muſt have been moſt grievouſly at the expence of his knowledge and underſtanding; for, in the firſt place, I muſt have ſhewn that he had never underſtood that doctrine of which he was proud to declare himſelf an apoſtle, and had not even known the fundamental principle of it; ſecondly, I muſt have ſhewn him that his own doctrine was a perfectly nugatory propoſition, as involving a condition that never was and never can be realiſed; juſt like the vulgar ſaying, "when the ſky falls we ſhall catch larks:" ſo that though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, as a propoſition it *muſt* be either *true* or *falſe*, and, in my opinion, would be *true*, yet it never could be tried or verified as a matter of fact; and, if it were verified, never could be of the ſmalleſt conſequence in ſcience, or even interfere with the propoſition which I had undertaken to demonſtrate. This, indeed, was ſo obviouſly implied in the anſwer which I had mentioned to him, as what I had given to another perſon who had ſtated the ſame ſuppoſed objection to my reaſoning, that I can ſcarce doubt that he perceived it, and on this account did not chooſe to have any further diſcuſſion about it. Thirdly, All the mortifying remarks on his violations of the principles of reaſoning or ſcience which he had to expect from me, muſt have come upon him with tenfold force, when it appeared that he had been contending for next to nothing, or, at beſt, for he knew not what.

In ſhort, I do not believe it poſſible for any combination of circumſtances to have occurred tending more to irritate two men againſt a third, of whom they previouſly had an unfavourable opinion, and whom they wiſhed to mortify, and expoſe to public reproach and contempt.

It was impoſſible that they ſhould have expected any favour or kindneſs from me, or ſhould have ſuppoſed that any good was intended to them, or could be done to them by my Memorial. Nay,

they

they would have had ſome excuſe, which neither Mr John Bell nor any of his adherents could have, for doing me the injuſtice (and very great injuſtice it would have been to me) of ſuppoſing that I had ſome perſonal ill-will to them, and that I wiſhed to do them an injury, by excluding them from attending in the Infirmary.

Yet, in theſe moſt trying circumſtances, they have had the magnanimity to ſacrifice all conſiderations of private reſentment and diſlike, and to ſupport me zealouſly in an undertaking which they *knew* to be right, and for the public good. This conduct has raiſed them much in my opinion: and it is fit I ſhould ſay ſo; for if they had acted otherwiſe, I ſhould have been ſtrongly tempted to impute their oppoſition to their animoſity againſt me, not to any honeſt difference of opinion with reſpect to the ſubject of my Memorial. Both of them had received a great part of their education as clerks in the Royal Infirmary, and muſt have known the truth of all that I had ſtated, and of many painful particulars which I ſhould be very ſorry to be obliged to ſtate.

I regard their conduct on this occaſion as a very high degree of virtue; the more to be eſteemed that ſuch examples are rare: while too frequent experience muſt convince us all, that many perſons cannot diveſt themſelves of perſonal animoſity, even in the exerciſe of an important public truſt, or in the diſcharge of the moſt ſacred duty.

Another paſſage in thoſe letters, which Mr John Bell has very wiſely prefixed to his anſwer to my Memorial, deſerves ſome animadverſion. It is in his own circular letter to thoſe younger Surgeons who had employed him to write that anſwer. It is in theſe words: " The opinion of the *profeſſion* has been publicly and " ſtrongly expreſſed. The *conſtitutional* point has been *decided* by " *repeated votes* of the Royal College of Surgeons."

The former of theſe propoſitions is unqueſtionably true in its full extent; perhaps to nearly double that extent which Mr John Bell wiſhed

wiſhed to be underſtood or known. For not only one opinion, that one I mean which he had in view, but another opinion alſo, diametrically oppoſite and contradictory to it, has been *publicly* and *ſtrongly* expreſſed, by the *Profeſſion*, as he calls it, that is, by the Surgeons of Edinburgh. No fewer than *fourteen* out of *twenty-nine* Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, who were preſent at a memorable debate and vote of that College, on the ſubject of their mode of attendance in the Infirmary, expreſſed *publicly* and *ſtrongly* an opinion perfectly coinciding with mine, and *proteſted* againſt the oppoſite opinion, that of the fifteen other Fellows, as irreconcileable with the good of the patients. Of theſe fourteen many are men of the higheſt eminence that have ever been of their profeſſion in this city, and have long enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of public eſteem and confidence; and all of them are thoroughly acquainted with the ſubject, and with many particulars of thoſe evils which I had ſtated only in general terms. Many of them had received their education in the Infirmary as clerks; and almoſt all of them had attended and operated in their turn, ſome of them repeatedly. All of them muſt often have been eye-witneſſes of thoſe evils, the knowledge of which, as reſulting from the ſyſtem of rotation, made them ſo emphatically declare it bad for the ſick poor. But of this more fully afterwards: at preſent I ſhall only obſerve, that though thoſe gentlemen, whoſe opinion publicly and ſtrongly declared Mr John Bell ſeems to hold as nothing, when taken by *tale* were the minority of their College, at that ever memorable meeting, in the proportion of fourteen to fifteen; yet I humbly conceive, that if taken by *weight* they would have been the majority of it, in the proportion of at leaſt four to one.

The latter of the two ſentences quoted from Mr John Bell's circular letter is hardly intelligible. I cannot even gueſs why, or in what ſenſe, the ſubject of their debates and votes ſhould be called a *conſtitutional* point. With infinitely more propriety, and ſome ra-

great prophet of old was taken up into heaven in a chariot of fire, his ſpirit as well as his mantle deſcended to his humble follower. " And when he alſo had ſmitten the waters, they parted hither " and thither; and Eliſha went over. And when the ſons of the " prophets, which were to view at Jericho, ſaw him, they ſaid, " The ſpirit of Elijah doth reſt on Eliſha. And they came to meet " him, and bowed themſelves to the ground before him."

It is ſo reaſonable, on all occaſions, to impute every thing that is peculiarly bad to the immediate agency of the Devil, and this account of the matter, in the preſent caſe, is ſo obvious and plauſible, that every body would admit it at once as ſatisfactory and certain, were it not for ſome conſiderations which I have already ſtated. But theſe have ſo much weight, that they make me doubt, or more than doubt, of that moſt natural account of the buſineſs, and ſuggeſt to me another explanation of it, which I am convinced will be found the true one.

Before my Memorial was printed, or indeed written, I had learned, by converſing with ſome of the moſt eminent of the Surgeons, that they reprobated the ſyſtem of their attendance in the Hoſpital by rotation, and the bargain, and the ſubſequent conduct of their predeceſſors, as much as I did. It was impoſſible not to preſume the ſame of other gentlemen of the ſame education and profeſſion, and who muſt have had equal knowledge of thoſe facts on which that opinion was founded.

Even when diſappointed in this expectation, I had the pleaſure to perceive, that no body attempted to adopt or vindicate the principles and arguments on which Mr Kennedy and his aſſociates reſted their claim. This implied, that all the preſent Members of the College of Surgeons perceived the turpitude of the ſordid cruel principles on which their predeceſſors had acted, and which they had avowed; in other words, that all the preſent Members were men of more humane and liberal ſentiments and manners than their predeceſſors

deceſſors had been. It was not eaſy to conceive how or why they ſhould contend for the bargain itſelf, when none of them could avow the principles on which it was made. But this is fully explained, and well illuſtrated, by the conduct of Mr John Bell, and chiefly by the card which he did me the honour to addreſs to me, when he had only heard of my Memorial, but had not read it. From that card, which is printed in this paper, (page 34. to 36.), it appears indiſputably, that if he had been acting as an individual, upon his own judgment and knowledge, he would have left the deciſion of the buſineſs to the Managers, as the conduct moſt becoming a gentleman, and as eſpecially proper in a profeſſional man.

I preſume with confidence, that every one of his adherents or clients who have employed him to write for them, if he had been acting for himſelf, unconnected with any party, and not in oppoſition to any, would have thought and acted juſt as Mr John Bell had wiſely reſolved to do. Indeed it is incredible that any individual, acting for himſelf ſingly, ſhould have engaged in ſuch a diſpute, or contended for ſuch a bargain.

I ſhall take the liberty to ſtate an imaginary, but very conceivable caſe, and to conſider what the probable or certain reſult of it would have been. I ſhall ſuppoſe that (the Devil having entered into them) all the Members of the *oppoſite* party in the College of Surgeons, Meſſ. Allan, Benjamin and George Bell, Bennett, Brown, Inglis, Latta, Law, Newbigging, Rae, Ruſſell, Thomſon, Wardrop, Andrew Wood, had reſolved keenly and rigorouſly to inſiſt upon the bargain of 1738. Can we believe, that in this caſe Mr John Bell and his clients ſhould individually have done violence to their own clear judgment, (perhaps I ought to add conſcience too), and joined cordially with a ſet of men with whom they have long been engaged in the moſt inveterate warfare? Or ſhall we ſuppoſe that they would all have acted according to the beſt of their judgment, and

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ſtill preſerved their oppoſition to their adverſe party, by cordially ſupporting the meaſure which I had recommended?

The latter ſuppoſition appears to me abundantly probable; the more ſo, that the former is abſolutely incredible, and inconſiſtent with any competent knowledge of human nature. Party-men, of any ſpirit and talents, would rather ſee their opponents hanged, than unite with them in doing what they know to be right; *a fortiori*, then, much rather than unite with them in doing what they know to be wrong.

On the whole, therefore, I think I have much reaſon to believe, that the conduct of Mr John Bell and his clients, on this occaſion, does not proceed from any undue influence of the old Serpent of the days of Deacon Kennedy and Co. but from the noble ſpirit of party; that ſpirit to which we owe our greateſt orators, and patriots, and ſtateſmen, and, in a great meaſure, our glorious Conſtitution itſelf. The only doubt that now remains is, whether this noble ſpirit of party may not be the Devil in diſguiſe: but this will ſoon be aſcertained; for though it is well known that he can aſſume any ſhape he pleaſes, it is alſo well known, and very lucky it is, that he cannot conceal his cloven foot.

A MUCH more pleaſing ſubject of animadverſion, or rather of admiration and praiſe, comes next under review; I mean the very judicious and ſkilful manner in which Mr John Bell has acquitted himſelf, and the extraordinary talents that he has diſplayed, in his newly aſſumed character of an Advocate, and in the conduct of a very difficult and moſt ungracious cauſe, in which he engaged with reluctance, and againſt his own original and better judgment.

Experienced Lawyers, and Judges, (who know it to their ſorrow), need not be told, but the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, who

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are not much accuſtomed to be addreſſed as judges, and who probably have not fully perceived the plan and merit of his argument, ought to be informed, that the great point in arguing any cauſe, and eſpecially ſuch a cauſe as Mr John Bell has undertaken, and conſequently the greateſt merit that a lawyer *can* have, is to avoid, as much as poſſible, entering into the merits of the cauſe, which might be very dangerous for his clients; and to enlarge on any thing, or every thing, that has no connection with it. This gives full ſcope to a lawyer's genius, and never fails to raiſe him greatly in the opinion of his brethren and of the public; and it is very much *in commodum curiæ*, by convincing people how unfit they are to argue their own cauſes.

I have no doubt that Mr John Bell would, by his own natural ſagacity, have diſcovered this great principle of all juridical eloquence, without the aid of any information or inſtruction, or hint or example; and that, by the mere force of his own genius, he would, even in his firſt attempt, have carried that moſt valuable kind of eloquence to the higheſt poſſible perfection. But he hath followed ſo cloſely the noble pattern of ſuch legal eloquence given by that moſt authentic traveller and profound philoſopher *Lemuel Gulliver*, that it is more than probable he had that model in view; and he could not have choſen a better. But when we conſider alſo, that he is well acquainted with Gulliver's travels, as appears from his anſwer to me, and that the model of juridical eloquence is given in the voyage to the land of *Houyhnhms*; and that Mr John Bell muſt have been fully aware what he owed to ſo reſpectable a ſet of *Yahoos* as the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, to whom his argument was addreſſed, there can be no doubt what his model was.

In juſtice to him, and that the Managers, and all whom it concerns, may ſee how faithfully he has imitated, and how much he has ſurpaſſed his juſtly admired original, I ſhall tranſcribe *Gulliver's*

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own words, before I quote the parallel paſſages in Mr John Bell's anſwer to me.

" I aſſured his Honour, that *law* was a ſcience in which I had " not much converſed, further than by employing advocates in " vain upon ſome injuſtices that had been done me; however, I " would give him all the ſatisfaction I was able.

" I ſaid there was a ſociety of men among us, bred up from " their youth in the art of proving by words, multiplied for the " purpoſe, that *white* is *black*, and *black* is *white*, according as they " are paid. To this ſociety all the reſt of the people are *ſlaves*. For " example, if my neighbour have a mind to my *cow*, he hires a " lawyer to prove that he ought to have my *cow* from me. I muſt " then hire another to defend my right, it being againſt all rules " of *law* that any man ſhould be allowed to ſpeak for himſelf. " Now, in this caſe I, who am the right owner, lie under two " great diſadvantages; firſt, My *lawyer*, being practiſed almoſt " from his cradle in defending falſehood, is quite out of his ele- " ment when he would be an advocate for juſtice, which is an " unnatural office he always attempts with great awkwardneſs, " if not with ill-will. The ſecond diſadvantage is, that my " *lawyer* muſt proceed with great caution, or elſe he will be " reprimanded by the *judges*, and abhorred by his brethren, " as one that would leſſen the practice of the law." —— " In " pleading, they ſtudiouſly avoid entering into the *merits* of " the cauſe; but are loud, violent, and tedious, in dwelling upon " all circumſtances which are not to the purpoſe. For inſtance, in " the caſe already mentioned, they never deſire to know what " claim or title my adverſary hath to my *cow*, but whether the " ſaid cow were red or black, her horns long or ſhort, whether the " field I graze her in be round or ſquare, whether ſhe was milked " at home or abroad, what diſeaſes ſhe is ſubject to, and the " like; after which they conſult *precedents*, adjourn the cauſe from

" time

" time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years come to an " iſſue."

It is delightful to obſerve how admirably Mr John Bell has availed himſelf of theſe precious inſtructions. I doubt much whether the oldeſt or the ableſt lawyers at the bar could have done the buſineſs nearly as well.

The *merits* of the cauſe depended on the validity of a certain agreement or pretended contract between the Surgeons and the Managers, which I conceive to be illegal and null, as being a violation of the charter of the Infirmary, as well as inconſiſtent with the good of the ſick poor; and which, if it had been originally valid, has been repeatedly and groſsly violated by the Surgeons. To theſe conſiderations may be added, on the part of Mr John Bell, his avowed purpoſe of doing away (what he is pleaſed to call) thoſe groſs miſrepreſentations of the character and conduct of the younger Surgeons, contained in my Memorial.

As it would be tedious and laborious, and very unneceſſary, to tranſcribe and comment on *every* ſplendid paſſage in his Anſwer, which may juſtly be regarded as a good ſample of his genius for the practice of the law, I ſhall ſelect only a few, I truſt, of the beſt of them.

He has ſome admirable remarks on my *ſtature*, my *dreſs*, eſpecially my volunteer uniform, and my grenadier cap, at the hirſute appearance of which he ſeems to have taken umbrage, and on my writing Latin.

" Born in Brobdignag, and educated in Laputa, he deſpiſes us " as contemptible beings, inferior in ſize of intellects, and in bulk " of body. He ſteps over and over us, in all the pride of his gi- " gantic ſtature; and lifts aſide the lappets of his coat, to let us " paſs unhurt beneath the ſtride of his coloſſal limbs." *Sect.* 1. *page* 44.

" Though the Memorial is now a common property to all the

" world, it is particularly addreſſed to his fellow-citizens and fellow-
" ſoldiers; for he is a ſoldier, " in red, tremendous, and hirſute in
" gold." His Memorial has been diſtributed by tuck of drum to
" all the officers of this corps. Much of the wit is addreſſed to
" them, and all of it is at leaſt level to the plaineſt underſtanding."
Sect. 1. *page* 23, 24.

" Of the elegance with which he writes the Engliſh language,
" we have juſt given ſuch ſpecimens as muſt ſurely ſatisfy the
" moſt rigorous critic; but Latin he writes ſtill more fluently, and
" fluency is every thing in telling of tales.

" *Latin to him's no more difficile,*
" *Than to a blackbird 'tis to whiſtle.*"
Sect. 1. *page* 23.

Not content with all theſe and many more remarks, equally pertinent and witty, on me perſonally, he proceeds to make many remarks, almoſt equally pertinent, on my Father, and his character and writings; and draws an admirable contraſt between him and me. *Page* 50, 51.

He does not even confine himſelf to me and my Father, but contrives, with exquiſite ſkill, to bring in ſome alluſion to my family-hiſtory; and to mention the number of my Anceſtors who had been Profeſſors, (and full three times more than that number; but of this afterwards).

———" An author, diſtinguiſhed in the literary and polemical
" world, the *fifteenth* in a direct line of a dynaſty of Profeſſors. No
" wonder that little men crouch under the hereditary ſceptre, wield-
" ed by his gigantic arm." *Page* 44.

Every one of theſe ſpecimens is an unqueſtionable proof of ſuperior genius. Men of ordinary talents would think it of no moment, with reſpect to the ſubject of my Memorial, and Mr John Bell's

Bell's anſwer to it, whether my anceſtors were Profeſſors or Ploughmen; whether my Father and I were juſt of the ſame character or not; whether I wrote Latin, or Engliſh, or broad Scotch; whether I occaſionally wore a red coat or a black gown, a fur cap or a three-cornered hat; and whether I am ſix feet high, or only four.

But as this laſt point has appeared of ſuch conſequence to Mr John Bell, it is proper to conſider it fully, and to endeavour, if poſſible, to ſet him right as to ſome things about which he ſeems to be miſtaken; eſpecially to ſatisfy him, that by my ſtature I never meant any injury or indignity to him or to his friends, whoſe bodies bear no reaſonable proportion to the great ſouls which they contain; as by the whole tenor of his diſcourſe he ſeems to have ſuppoſed that I did.

It muſt be owned, that we often ſee a very unequal diſtribution of ſoul and body. But I can by no means admit the doctrine which ſome very little philoſophers are eager to maintain, that the ſouls of men always are inverſely as the cubes of their ſtatures; for I have never ſeen any demonſtration of this important propoſition. I rather incline to the old orthodox opinion, ſo ably maintained by that great philoſopher and judge of human nature Serjeant Kite, That he who was born to be ſix feet high, was born to be a great man. I am even intereſted to maintain this doctrine in all its purity, as *that* is the only kind of greatneſs to which I make any pretenſions, and the only one that I am ſure no body will or can deny me. But I never thought of uſing that greatneſs to the annoyance of little men, or little great men, or of undervaluing them for their diminutive bodies. Nay, though of late I have added to my ſtature one cubit, by means of that unlucky grenadier-cap, the hirſute appearance of which ſeems to have irritated Mr John Bell more than I could have ſuppoſed, I muſt aſſure him ſolemnly, that it was not for the fooliſh and preſumptuous purpoſe of making myſelf look

greater, nor yet for the malicious purpoſe of making him and other little great men look leſs, than nature intended we ſhould do. It was purely for the good of my country; and accordingly, as ſoon as my country ſhall have no further occaſion for the ſervices of the ſaid hirſute cap, I ſhall lay it aſide with much more pleaſure than ever I put it on.

Every body in the leaſt acquainted with Mr John Bell muſt perceive and acknowledge at once, as I do, that he has ſoul enough, or more than enough, to animate four and twenty of the largeſt of his Majeſty's Beef-eaters. No wonder that ſo large a ſoul ſhould be ſomewhat reſtleſs and impatient, and even indignant, at being impounded in ſo ſmall, ſo very ſmall a body. *Æſtuat infelix anguſto limite.* And I think no body can blame it, I am ſure I do not, for being a little ſnappiſh ſometimes, when it ſees a parcel of great men-mountains, or rather fleſh-mountains, walking about, with ſcarce ſoul enough in them to ſerve the purpoſe of ſalt, and keep them from putrefying.

All the great poets, ancient and modern, from Homer down to Milton, have ſhewn a ſtrong partiality to heroes of the largeſt grenadier ſize. Milton, in particular, carried this partiality to a moſt extravagant pitch. But the faithful page of authentic hiſtory muſt convince every judicious and candid reader, that many of the greateſt men in all ages have been of ſmall ſtature. Alexander the Great, Auguſtus, Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Archduke Charles, Dumourier, nay Buonaparte himſelf, all have been little men. The greateſt hero that ever England has produced was of the ſmalleſt ſize of any that we read of in true hiſtory. I do not mean Lord Nelſon, though certainly a very great hero and a little man; but one much greater, and ſtill ſmaller, of whom we read in the Tragedy of Tragedies, which bears his name.

Though ſmall his body be, ſo very ſmall
A chairman's leg is more than twice as big,
Yet is his ſoul as any mountain great;
And as a mountain once contain'd a mouſe,
So doth this mouſe contain a mighty mountain.
Let Macedonia her Alexander boaſt;
Let Rome her Cæſars and her Scipios ſhow;
Ireland her Os, her Macs let Scotland boaſt;
England ſhall boaſt no other than Tom Thumb!

But, unfortunately, he was cut off in the flower of his youth, and in his full career of glory, by the moſt calamitous and horrible fate that ever yet befell a mortal hero: he was ſwallowed by a red cow. *Specta juvenis, et omen quidem Dii prohibeant; cæterum in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediat conſtantibus exemplis.*

NEXT to that eſſential merit ſo well explained by Gulliver, and ſo admirably exemplified by Mr John Bell in his Anſwer to my Memorial, without which it is plain there could be no pleadings or law-papers worth hearing or reading, the moſt important qualification that an advocate can have, is the talent of availing himſelf to the utmoſt of every *fact*, true or falſe, credible or incredible, poſſible or impoſſible, with which he is furniſhed; telling it in the beſt manner, placing it in the ſtrongeſt light, adorning it with the choiceſt flowers of eloquence, enforcing it with many ſtrokes of the ſublime and pathetic, ſuch as may rouſe the moſt ſtupid underſtanding, and melt the hardeſt and coldeſt heart; and finally, deducing from every fact ſo ſtated thoſe inferences which may ſerve

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his purpoſe, whether ſuch deductions be conſiſtent with, or repugnant to the rules of logic, and the ſuggeſtions of common ſenſe.

The truth or falſity of thoſe facts, with reſpect to the advocate, and the merit of his argument, are quite out of the queſtion. If every fact which he ſtates were as falſe as Mahomet's Alcoran, he cannot in the leaſt be blamed for that: on the contrary, he may be well entitled to the higheſt praiſe, for making the beſt uſe of ſuch *bad* facts; and if he ſhould think it worth his while to do any thing ſo uncivil and unprofitable, he would be well entitled to blame very much thoſe who furniſhed him with ſuch *bad* facts: in other words, if he choſe to play the fool, he would have an excellent opportunity of quarrelling with his beſt friends, I mean his clients, and their attornies, or agents, of whatever denomination. But this, I believe, is very ſeldom thought of, and much ſeldomer done; for every body knows that an advocate is not anſwerable for the truth of his facts, in point of veracity, like a witneſs, who, unleſs he be well paid for not doing it, ought to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. An advocate is employed, and generally paid, not for telling the truth, but for ſaying all that he thinks can avail his client. Nor is a lawyer in any degree anſwerable, like a judge, or a juryman, in point of underſtanding or probity, for the belief which he gives, or appears to give, to the facts in his client's caſe.

It is plainly the buſineſs of judges and jurymen, and of the oppoſite counſel, to find out, if they can, whether the facts ſtated be true or falſe; and generally it is the buſineſs of the advocate who ſtates them to prevent that from being found out, if he can. At any rate, every body knows that truth lies in a well; a very deep one it ſhould ſeem; for there are but few people the deep-ſea lead of whoſe underſtanding can reach even half way to the bottom of it. It would therefore be very fooliſh for an advocate to throw away a great deal of time and pains in ſounding or diving for that

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ſame truth, which forty to one he will not diſcover, and which, if he ſhould unfortunately lay hold of it, he would be fain to let go in a trice, as finding it more cumberſome and dangerous than a mill-ſtone about his neck.

But in any kind of fine writing, as approaching to the nature of poetry, the ſacred right *quidlibet audendi*, is, if poſſible, ſtill more extenſively and more firmly eſtabliſhed; for the beſt of all poſſible reaſons, that any great ſolicitude about truth, or very ſtrict adherence to it even when known, would completely fruſtrate the chief object of ſuch compoſition, which, in general, is rather *delectare* than *prodeſſe*.

Thus, ſurely every reader of good taſte and judgment muſt be ſenſible, that the Iliad of Homer is a much nobler work than a complete collection of all the gazettes extraordinary that were publiſhed at Sparta and Mycenæ during the whole ten years of the Trojan war; and that the Odyſſey and the Æneid are much better than the original journals of Ulyſſes and Æneas.

Theſe general remarks on the nature and value of the facts generally ſtated in pleadings and memorials, and other law or law-like papers, and of the merit of an able advocate, in making an admirable uſe of very bad facts, I have taken the liberty to ſuggeſt to the Managers, before I point out to them a few of the many exquiſite inſtances of that kind of merit which are to be met with in Mr John Bell's anſwer to my Memorial, and which, without ſome ſuch preliminary explanation, they might ſcarce have underſtood, or admired as they ought to do.

If his anſwer had been addreſſed to experienced lawyers and judges, eſpecially if it had been in the form of a pleading by word of mouth, any ſuch explanation of the merit of it, or of the principles on which the merit of it ought to be eſtimated, would have been unneceſſary, and even impertinent. The merit of every ſentence of it would have been perceived and acknowledged at once, and very

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ſoon would have been ſuitably rewarded. If he had been a young lawyer, inſtead of being a young, or not a young Surgeon, and had pronounced ſuch a Philippic in the form of a pleading in any of the courts of Weſtminſter Hall, he would have been complimented by the Bench, admired and hated by the Bar, worſhipped by the Attornies, and in four and twenty hours would have received at leaſt four and twenty briefs, and twice as many retaining fees; for in the noble profeſſion of the law, ſuch ſuperior genius is ſoon and certainly and amply rewarded, with much ſolid pudding, as well as with abundance of empty praiſe; while in all the branches of our miſerable trade of Phyſic (including Surgery) the ſame ſuperior genius, though more admired, is ſcarce more liberally rewarded than plain truth and common honeſty. *Laudatur et alget* is too often the fate of both. To ſay the truth, that ſuperior genius does not appear to be of ſo much uſe in any branch of phyſic as it is in the practice of the law; for when a man is very ill of the aſthma and dropſy, or going to be cut for the ſtone, it is of no conſequence to him whether his phyſician or ſurgeon has or has not all the qualifications which would make an excellent Attorney-general; and it is of great conſequence to him that his phyſician or ſurgeon ſhould have certain other qualifications, of a totally different nature.

Though judges and lawyers, and all mankind who have occaſion to know them, are always very liberal of their praiſes and admiration of ſuch pleadings as Mr John Bell's anſwer to me, yet, in point of belief, they pay no more regard to the facts ſtated in them, even to thoſe the moſt in point, than they do to the facts ſtated in Homer's Iliad, or in a London newſpaper. Of courſe, all the fine inferences from thoſe facts muſt go for nothing. Indeed, if the judges were ever ſo *willing* to believe *all* the *facts* which able lawyers ſtate in their pleadings, they *cannot* do it: For the facts ſtated by the oppoſite lawyers are ſometimes directly contradictory; ſo that if thoſe on the one ſide be true, thoſe on the other muſt be falſe; and

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if the former are falſe, the latter muſt be true. Sometimes the facts ſtated on the oppoſite ſides are only inconſiſtent, ſo that only *ſome* of them *can* be *true*, but *all* of them *may* be *falſe*, and moſt of them in ſome caſes are ſo.

Hence comes the neceſſity of what is called *evidence*, to entitle even the moſt ſtriking and pointed facts which a lawyer ſtates in his pleading to any credit. Now, evidence is in ſome caſes of a very ſtubborn nature; and ſo untractable, that, when raſhly produced, it eſtabliſhes inconteſtably the reverſe of what it was intended to prove. And a good deal of experience and acquired dexterity is neceſſary, to enable a lawyer to avoid ſtating any facts the reverſe of which may be *eaſily* proved; for example, by their inconſiſtency with authentic record, with themſelves, or with one another, or with common ſenſe. Mere force of genius can never inſpire a young pleader with this neceſſary caution; on the contrary, the ardour inſeparable from great genius will naturally urge him to the very oppoſite conduct, eſpecially in his firſt attempts.

Such, I conceive, has been the caſe with Mr John Bell as to *ſome* of the moſt ſtriking facts, and thoſe on which he ſeems to have laid the greateſt ſtreſs, in his anſwer to me.

With peculiar pleaſure I give, as the firſt ſpecimen of this kind, one ſhort ſentence, which contains four ſuch facts; or may fairly be reſolved into four ſeparate propoſitions, the direct contrary of every one of which may be eaſily and inconteſtably proved.

This admirable ſpecimen of his ſuperior genius occurs in the 49th page of his 2d ſection; where, after declaiming with more than Ciceronian or Demoſthenic fire and eloquence againſt the horrible abomination of Clinical Lectures, eſpecially when conducted by Profeſſors who are young men, and aſſerting roundly, that " the Chairs of this Univerſity are filled with young men, " very young men," he ſtates more particularly the following *facts*.

" The Profeſſorſhips of Chemiſtry, Anatomy, Midwifery, and " Materia Medica, are filled with men younger than the youngeſt " of thoſe whom this gentleman thinks fit to deſcribe as young and " inexperienced Surgeons."

Firſt, as to the Profeſſor of Midwifery; for he ſtands in a different ſituation from the other three profeſſors: He neither has, nor can have, any thing to do with the clinical lectures; ſo that whether he be only five years of age, or fifty-five, cannot concern the Infirmary. Beſides, it is now ſeveral years ſince the Infirmary was ſafely delivered of him and his big-bellied patients, to the great joy of the noble family. This happy delivery was accompliſhed in the time of the father and immediate predeceſſor of the preſent incumbent; not in conſequence of any proof or ſuſpicion of inſufficiency on his part, but purely on the ſtrong general principle of what the Managers knew to be right; what they might have foreſeen, but had really not foreſeen, when they permitted a lying-in ward in the Hoſpital; and were convinced of at laſt by very ample experience. But waving all ſuch diſcuſſions, I ſhall here conſider only Mr John Bell's *fact*, that the Profeſſor of Midwifery is *younger* than the *youngeſt* of thoſe whom I deſcribed as young and inexperienced Surgeons.

What the age of ſeveral of the Junior Surgeons is, I really do not know; but I know that one of them is juſt four and twenty, he having been born in February 1777. As there are no fewer than ſix Junior Surgeons under him in the liſt of that Royal College, I think it probable that ſome of theſe may be ſtill younger men. But taking, what I am ſure of, four and twenty as the age of one of the youngeſt Surgeons, I ſhall conſider whether it be credible or poſſible that the Profeſſor of Midwifery is younger than that, even by a day.

The preſent Profeſſor of Midwifery has been a Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians for *nine* years, as may be ſuppoſed very generally

generally known, for his name appears the laſt on our liſt of Fellows prefixed to the laſt edition of our Diſpenſatory, which is dated the 17th of April 1792. Before he could have been made a Fellow, he muſt have been a Licentiate of our College; and before he was made a Licentiate, he had obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the Univerſity of St Andrew's. If he be younger than four and twenty at preſent, he *muſt* have been a Doctor of Phyſic, and a Fellow of the Royal College of Phyſicians in Edinburgh, at or before the age of fifteen. This appears to me incredible at leaſt, if not impoſſible. But perhaps theſe facts may not have been known to Mr John Bell and his clients: at leaſt ſome other facts relating to that gentleman's hiſtory, and ſtill ſtronger, *muſt* have been well known to Mr John Bell, and probably to many of his clients. Before he became a Phyſician, and a Fellow of our College, he had been for between three and four years a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh. Before he was admitted a Fellow of their College, (which was on the 23d of June 1788), he had completed his education as a Surgeon, had been examined by their examinators, had been approved of, and (according to Mr John Bell's own doctrine, ſtrongly aſſerted in his anſwer to me) *muſt* have been perfectly well qualified to act as ordinary Surgeon of this Hoſpital. In fact he did attend, in his turn, in that capacity. All theſe things I conceive *muſt* have been well known to Mr John Bell, who became a Member of the College of Surgeons on the 14th of Auguſt 1786, near two years before the preſent Profeſſor of Midwifery, and muſt have been accuſtomed to hear the name of the latter called next but one after his own, at every meeting of their College, for at leaſt three years and a half. If he be at this time only four and twenty, he *muſt* have been a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1788, thirteen years ago, at the age of eleven, foraſmuch as eleven and thirteen make twenty-four; and he muſt have acted in his turn as ordinary Sur-

geon of this Infirmary at ſome period between the age of eleven and that of fifteen; at which latter age (according to Mr John Bell's *fact*, and the plain undeniable arithmetical calculation founded on it) he ceaſed to be a Surgeon and became a Phyſician. This inference appears to me incredible; but it is plain that Mr John Bell and his clients muſt either admit it, or give up their own important fact.

Next, as to the Profeſſor of Chemiſtry. Though I know his age pretty exactly, I do not chooſe to mention it too particularly, for he is ſtill a bachelor; but I truſt not long to remain in that ſinful ſtate. I ſhall therefore only ſay, that for his own ſake, and much more for that of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, I hope and truſt he is ſome years on the right ſide of forty. I can perceive no deficiency either of years or underſtanding in him; nor conſequently can I think it neceſſary (though certainly it can do no harm) to pray to Jupiter to increaſe his wiſdom and his beard. For my preſent purpoſe it is ſufficient to obſerve, that he has now been ſix winters Profeſſor of Medicine and Chemiſtry in this Univerſity, to which he was invited (as Dr Cullen and Dr Black had been before him) in conſequence of the well-merited reputation that he had acquired in the Univerſity of Glaſgow, where he had taught firſt chemiſtry, and afterwards medicine, for eight winters before, and where he had been Phyſician to the Infirmary from the time when it was built till he left that city. I ſhould therefore preſume that he might be truſted with the charge of twenty or thirty patients in this Infirmary, without any injury or any great riſk to them. But be this as it may, it is at leaſt plain, that if he be only four and twenty at preſent, he muſt have been but ten, or between ten and eleven years of age, when he firſt taught chemiſtry in the Univerſity of Glaſgow, near fourteen years ago. Thus I think we may ſafely diſpoſe of another of the four *facts*.

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As to the Profeſſor of *Materia Medica*, the *fact* with reſpect to him may be ſtill more eaſily and briefly ſettled. Far from believing that he is younger than the youngeſt of the Surgeons in Edinburgh, I doubt much whether all of theſe gentlemen had got into breeches when he was a Doctor of Phyſic. He took his degree of M. D. in this Univerſity September 12. 1781, full nineteen years and a half ago; ſo that if he be only four and twenty at preſent, he *muſt* have been made a Doctor of Phyſic by us before he was five years of age.

The fourth of the facts contained in that ſhort ſentence of Mr John Bell's paper which I am here conſidering, muſt be underſtood to relate, not to Dr Monro ſenior, but to his ſon Dr A. Monro junior, who has lately been appointed his father's colleague and ſucceſſor. Fortune ſeems indeed to have been wonderfully unfavourable to Mr John Bell and his clients on this occaſion; for even this fourth fact, the only one which had any appearance of being true, and which, on the fair principle of chance, ſhould have been *for* him, turns out *againſt* him. I find, on enquiry, that even Dr Alexander Monro junior is between three and four years paſt the age of four and twenty. Nor has fortune been much more favourable to him in another *fact* ſtated in the ſame paragraph, (page 50.), in theſe words: "Yet we cannot refrain from obſer-" ving, that the *youngeſt* of theſe Profeſſors, the Profeſſors of *Ma-*" *teria Medica* and Chemiſtry, do honour to the Univerſity." That theſe two Profeſſors do honour to the Univerſity, I cannot diſpute; but they certainly are not the *youngeſt* of the four Profeſſors whom he has ſpecified. The youngeſt of them is older by ſeveral years than the young Profeſſor of Anatomy.

Perhaps I ſhould have done better to have begun with the firſt ſentence of that paragragh, (page 49 of ſection 2.); for it is ſcarce inferior in rhetorical or poetical merit to the one which I have analyſed. Theſe are the words of it: "It happens that, at this very

" time,

" time, *the Chairs* of this Univerſity are filled with *young men*, *very* " *young*" men.

Of theſe *young*, *very young* men, it happens at this time that ſeveral are between ſixty and ſeventy years of age, many more between fifty and ſixty, and, to the beſt of my knowledge and belief, a great majority are paſt forty years of age. At preſent there are but *two*, and when Mr John Bell's pamphlet was written there was only *one*, out of five and twenty Profeſſors, under thirty years of age. I cannot tell exactly, nor is it of much conſequence, but I gueſs, that the average of the age of the preſent Profeſſors muſt be nearer fifty than forty. Now, as the age of man is but threeſcore years and ten, I humbly conceive that, without any violent breach of Chriſtian charity, we may rather be deemed middle aged than *young*, or *very young* men, at leaſt when taken collectively.

As to myſelf perſonally, I gladly admit, on the authority of Mr John Bell, that I am an exception to the general rule; and moſt gratefully acknowledge my obligations to him for the compliment which he has had the goodneſs to pay me, in his foreſaid 49th page, in theſe words: " Dr Gregory himſelf, *but a young man*, " boaſts of having occupied a moſt important ſtation in it for " twenty-four years." This very juſt obſervation is the more valuable, that it comes from one who evidently had no favour or partiality to me; and was the more acceptable, that I had been for ſome time much diſquieted in mind, in conſequence of having heard, that many very intelligent and experienced ladies had declared, *(horreſco referens)*, that every man of five and forty ought to be hanged.

I cannot therefore but lament, as well as wonder, that his bad luck, with reſpect to matters of fact, ſhould have attended him even on that point. By the happieſt conceit that ever entered into the head of a mortal wight, he ſtates the miſerable contraſt between me and my Father, (ſect. 1. page 50, 51.) There, after a ſuitable preamble,

preamble, he gives an excellent quotation from my Father's well-known Lectures on the Office and Duties of a Phyſician; and thus proceeds: "Serious duties will beget ſerious thoughts; but they "muſt be long familiar in the mind before they can be thus hap-"pily expreſſed. One plain word of this *good old man* marks a "feeling mind more than all the effuſions of ſenſibility that Sterne "ever contrived."

Every body, I preſume, will admit that my Father was a *good man*; and no body, I hope, will be ſo uncivil as to diſpute with Mr John Bell and his clients, (I am ſure, at leaſt, I ſhall not, ſuch is my eſteem and reſpect for them), that I am a *very bad man*, far worſe than Catiline, or Nero, or Ceſar Borgia, or Robeſpierre, or any the greateſt monſters that either ancient or modern times have produced; if they are pleaſed to ſay ſo, or if they think it will help their cauſe. But that my Father was an *old man*, and that I am a *young man*, is abſolutely impoſſible; for this plain reaſon, that my Father died juſt at the ſame age which I have now attained, namely, eight and forty. The lectures which Mr John Bell profeſſes to admire ſo much, were compoſed and actually read in the Univerſity of Edinburgh between ſix and ſeven years before his death; and had even been printed and publiſhed, ſo that they could no longer be read in College, two or three years before his death. On Mr John Bell's own principle, therefore, they muſt have been the words of a *good young man.*

It is not in the leaſt wonderful that a man ſhould fall into ſuch miſtakes when he writes about things of which he is totally ignorant; but the wonder is, that in this age of biography and anecdote, which ſeem to me to amount to an epidemic diſeaſe both among writers and readers, Mr John Bell ſhould be ignorant of what is ſo generally known, and has ſo often appeared in print. If he had taken the trouble to enquire, he might alſo have learned, that my Father was as arrant a Brobdignaggian as I am; and that

he

he wielded an immenſe club with his gigantic arm; in plain Engliſh, that he was a man ſix feet high, of a very robuſt make, and that he walked with a plain oaken ſtick in his hand; that he was equally plain in every part of his dreſs and manner; and that he, more than any other individual, contributed, both by his precept and example, to put an end to the ridiculous and diſgraceful peculiarities of dreſs and manner by which Phyſicians had long been diſtinguiſhed. Such peculiarities he treated with ridicule rather than with grave cenſure; ſo he did all violent medical controverſies and warfare, of which he had no better opinion than I have. Perhaps Mr John Bell and his clients, when they become a little better acquainted with my Father's writings, (which I earneſtly recommend to their peruſal, *nocturna verſate manu, verſate diurna*), will profit by his obſervations on that and on many other ſubjects; for example, by one which they will find in the moſt popular and beſt of all his works. There, after ſtrongly recommending the duties of humanity and charity, he adds; "But in this, as "well as in the practice of every other duty, carefully avoid oſten-"tation. Vanity is always defeating her own purpoſes. Fame "is one of the natural rewards of virtue. Do not ſeek her, and "ſhe will follow you."

This naturally reminds me of a very curious and modeſt requeſt of Mr John Bell, expreſſed in the note at the bottom of the 5th page of his 2d ſection, to make out the etymology of *Canting*. I am ſorry to ſay, that this point is not to be eaſily ſettled; for it has long been diſputed, and it is likely to be diſputed much longer, whether it be derived from the proper name of our worthy countryman Mr *Andrew Cant*, of whining memory; or whether it may boaſt a more noble deſcent from the Latin verb *canto*, to ſing. Luckily, however, it is not neceſſary, even for the purpoſe of *canting* in the higheſt perfection, to ſettle thoſe diſputes, nor yet to know the meaning or to have the uſe of the word. There muſt have

have been *canting*, before there could be any word to expreſs it; juſt as there muſt have been every other kind and figure of Rhetoric, before names could be given to them:

> " *For all a Rhetorician's rules*
> " *But teach a man to name his Tools*,"

as Mr John Bell, who ſeems to have dipped into Hudibras, can ſcarce fail to know. *Cant*, I believe, moſt ſtrictly and properly means " *a whining pretenſion to goodneſs.*" Of this I have never ſeen a finer ſample than Deacon Kennedy's Memorial about the Surgeons Hoſpital in 1737: but very little, if at all, inferior to it, in that kind of eloquence, is Mr John Bell's Anſwer to my Memorial in 1800. If, as his requeſt ſeems to imply, he really does not know what *canting* is, he may now ſhare the agreeable ſurpriſe of Moliere's Bourgeois Gentilhomme, when he learned from his rhetoric-maſter, that he had been ſpeaking *proſe* all his life without knowing it.

The next very ſplendid example of Mr John Bell's eloquence, and of his ſuperior talents as an Advocate, is his noble Philippic on my ignorance of Surgery. For the better underſtanding and reliſhing this admirable effort of his genius, it is proper to ſtate briefly what I had done in my former Memorial, in order to prevent any private or intereſted uſes, or malevolent applications, that might be made of my general obſervations on the badneſs of the long eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of Chirugical attendance in this Hoſpital. Conſcious that I meant nothing malevolent to the Surgeons collectively, or to any one of them individually; conſcious that I had no wiſh to favour any of them in preference to their brethren, and that my intentions were in every reſpect pure and honourable; but at the ſame time fully aware how eaſily my general remarks might be made a pretence for ſtating and enquiring into particu-

lar inſtances of thoſe evils which I repreſented as neceſſarily reſulting from the ſyſtem which I reprobated; and ſenſible that all ſuch particular enquiries were unneceſſary as well as odious; I took every precaution that I could think of to prevent them from being attempted, not only carefully avoiding them myſelf, but deprecating them in others, and proteſting againſt them in the ſtrongeſt terms, and endeavouring to ſhew, that the great point at iſſue ought to be determined purely on general principles, juſt as had been done fifty years before with reſpect to the mode of attendance of the Phyſicians. Conceiving too, that any ſuſpicion, however groundleſs, that I wiſhed either to favour or to injure any individuals of the Royal College of Surgeons, would in the firſt place have tended to fruſtrate my real benevolent purpoſe, and in the next place would have tended to make myſelf infamous, I endeavoured to preclude even the poſſibility of ſuch ſuſpicions, by declaring ſolemnly, that I was to take no ſhare in the election of Surgeons to attend permanently in the Infirmary; and even ſtating explicitly, that I had no pretenſions to be a judge of the real and comparative merits of the Surgeons of Edinburgh, eſpecially of the junior members of their College, from among whom I thought it probable the election would be made. I ſtated, (Mem. page 116.) that I had not been bred a Surgeon; that though I had been obliged, like other Phyſicians, to learn the general principles of Surgery, I never liked to ſee the practice of it; that I never am preſent at an operation in private practice, unleſs at the patient's particular deſire; that of courſe I ſee ſuch operations very ſeldom; that though intimately connected with the Infirmary as Clinical Profeſſor for more than three and twenty years, I had not in all that time gone to ſee any operation performed in it, except one day that I went to ſee Baron Wenzel operate on the eye; that there is not one of the junior Surgeons

whom

whom I ever ſaw perform any greater operation than a common blood-letting; and that of courſe I know no more of their real and comparative merits, than I do of the qualifications of the Surgeons of Paris or Vienna.

Few men, I believe, perhaps not one in the world but Mr John Bell himſelf, could have made, or even have thought of making, ſuch a noble uſe as he has done of thoſe candid declarations of mine. His own peculiar and original genius, and his uſual bad luck with reſpect to all matters of fact, appear in every ſentence of his Philippic on this ſubject. (Anſwer, Sect. 3.).

" We are ſurpriſed at the warmth with which the Memorialiſt " expreſſes his tender feelings, where he could not feel. *He never* " *entered a Surgical ward, nor ſaw an operation.* If he had *even* " *for once* ſeen the ſufferings of a fellow-creature protracted, or " life itſelf endangered by ignorance, we could have pardoned all " the extravagance of his reflections, even while we felt their un- " truth;" (page 2d.) " He muſt write boldly who takes no " care about the truth of his allegations;" (N. B. Theſe are Mr John Bell's own words; not mine, as moſt readers would probably think), " and your Memorialiſt thinks good to take his facts on " credit, as he does his feelings. He *knows no Surgeons*; he has " ſeen *no operations*; he *never entered the wards* where thoſe daily " cruelties are perpetrated;" page 5. " He *never entered into your* " *Theatre* on that day which is a Sabbath of peace and eaſe to " all the world, except your unhappy ſubjects," &c. *Ibid.*

Fortune is really very unkind to Mr John Bell in theſe facts, of which he makes ſo excellent a uſe. With equal truth, and equal good ſenſe, he might have aſſerted, that I never entered an Hoſpital, or ſaw a patient, or felt a pulſe, or opened a book. Never having thought of keeping an account of the number of times that I have been in the Surgeons wards of the Royal Infirmary, I cannot ſay exactly, but I ſhould gueſs, that in the laſt

three and thirty years of my life, I have been many more than an hundred times in thoſe wards, juſt to ſee and enquire about patients whom I had ſent into them, or who had been particularly recommended to me. And I preſume I have been in them at leaſt as often in the courſe of three years that I attended the Hoſpital as a ſtudent. For though the practice of Phyſic was my chief object, I had curioſity at leaſt, if not ſenſe enough, to wiſh to ſee a little of the practice of Surgery. Not having kept an account of the number of operations that I ſaw performed in the Theatre of the Royal Infirmary, I cannot ſay exactly how many I ſaw performed there in the courſe of the ſame three years; but as I attended the Theatre of the Infirmary as regularly as moſt ſtudents during that time, and often ſaw *two*, ſometimes perhaps *three* operations in one hour, and this very commonly on Sunday, I ſhould gueſs that I muſt have ſeen at leaſt fifty, perhaps an hundred operations performed in that Theatre.

Mr John Bell goes on in the ſame ſtrain, (Sect. 3. page 45.) "The Memorialiſt tells us, he ſaw once the bloodleſs operation of "Baron Wenzel! There, we are ſure, he ſaw a laced ruffle and a "ſapphire ring:—but he never had the good fortune to ſee the "bold operations of a John Hunter, a Pott, a Deaſe, (the great "lithotomiſt), or of Mr Wood, the protector and encourager of "his younger brethren."

Still the ſame cruel bad luck with reſpect to matters of fact attends him in moſt of theſe particulars. He may, for aught I know, be right as to Baron Wenzel's lace ruffles and ſapphire ring. I remember nothing about them: but, if my memory does not very ſtrangely deceive me, I remember that he wore ſpectacles, that he ſeemed much embarraſſed while operating, partly I believe from the peculiarity of the light, and that he was unſucceſsful in his operations, of which there were two or three; and I remember well being told by Dr Rutherford, that he ſaw Baron

Baron Wenzel operate in private, very ſoon after, with perfect ſteadineſs and complete ſucceſs.

Why Mr John Bell has introduced the name of John Hunter among thoſe of the London Surgeons whom I never had the good fortune to ſee operate, it is difficult to conceive. He would have been perfectly right with reſpect to *all* of them, if he had only had the good fortune to keep clear of John Hunter; for he was the *only* one of the London Surgeons that ever I ſaw operate. I was intimately acquainted with him, and had a very high opinion of his talents and truly original genius, and a ſtill higher opinion of the genius of his wife. He was the *only* operating Surgeon in London with whom I was acquainted. I was not his pupil, which, after I became acquainted with him, I regretted very much. I never heard even one of his lectures on Anatomy or Surgery. My acquaintance with him began at a moſt unmedical, unhallowed place, called the Britiſh Coffee-houſe. But I met with him often at St George's Hoſpital, to which he was Surgeon, and of which I was a perpetual pupil; and there, two or three times, but to the beſt of my remembrance not oftener, I ſaw him operate.

It is ſtill more marvellous, that Mr John Bell ſhould have ſpecified Mr Wood (meaning evidently Mr Alexander Wood) as one of the Surgeons whom I never had the good fortune to ſee operate. If he had taken the trouble to *think*, he might have known that Mr Wood was almoſt at the head of his profeſſion, and was eſteemed one of the beſt, if not the very beſt operator in Edinburgh, and that he was one of the *four ſubſtitute* Surgeons (as they were called) whom the Managers *ſelected* from the whole corporation of Surgeons, to do the principal part of the duty in this Hoſpital, when I was a ſtudent, that is, ſome thirty years ago. And if he had taken the trouble to *enquire*, he muſt have been informed, that in my younger days I was intimately acquainted, and lived on the moſt friendly terms with Mr Wood; and that I was even

a kind of pupil of his; at leaſt that I attended his ſhop for many months, in order to become acquainted with the common practice of Pharmacy. As to Mr John Bell's moſt valuable fact, that I never ſaw Mr Wood operate, I have only to ſay, that he was the firſt Surgeon I ever ſaw operate in private. I remember well, that it was on a poor woman who laboured under a ſtrangulated hernia; and that Dr Monro was preſent at the operation, and much ſurpriſed at meeting me there; for till that hour he did not know that I meant to follow Phyſic as a profeſſion. This I mention particularly, becauſe it reminds me ſtrongly, that almoſt from the time I began to ſtudy Phyſic, I made a practice of going to ſee operations when I had an opportunity; to ſay the truth, not as a matter of amuſement, or a thing that I liked, but as a proper piece of medical education.

I think it very *probable* too, but having no diſtinct remembrance of the fact, I cannot aſſert it poſitively, that Mr Wood was the firſt Surgeon that ever I ſaw operate in public in this Hoſpital. I am ſure at leaſt, that I have ſeen him operate in it very often, perhaps twenty or thirty times; but I kept no account of ſuch things, not dreaming of the poſſibility of its ever being wanted.

I ſcarce know what to think of Mr John Bell's curious expreſſion relating to the ſame gentleman, (Sect. 3. page 45. line 19.) "The "*coarſe* but ſkilful hands of a Sandie Wood." That his hands were ſkilful, I admit; but that they were *coarſe*, I never could perceive, nor ever heard, or read, till I had the pleaſure of peruſing Mr John Bell's ineſtimable pamphlet. Mr Wood always appeared to me, and I know was thought by others, not only a judicious and ſteady, but a very *neat* operator. I am ſure he was much neater than ſeveral others, and to the beſt of my remembrance, was the neateſt of all the Surgeons, who, from twenty-nine to thirty-

thirty-three years ago, were accuſtomed to operate in the Theatre of this Infirmary.

It is ſtill more difficult to conceive what Mr John Bell means by another curious compliment to the ſame Mr Wood, whom, in the ſame page, (line 25. and 26.), he calls " the protector and en-" courager of his younger brethren." Even with the help of his own very ample commentary on his text, (page 51.), there remain many things in it ſomewhat hard to be underſtood. While he mentions Mr Wood as the father of their College, as the oldeſt of their profeſſion in this city, and as the generous protector of every young Surgeon, he is pleaſed to tell us, that they (the younger Surgeons) *conſider him as the head of their party.*

That the oldeſt Surgeon in Edinburgh ſhould be the head of the party of the younger Surgeons, ſeems at firſt ſight almoſt as incongruous and ſtrange, as that the youngeſt ſhould be the head of the oldeſt. That a Manager of the Infirmary, as Mr Wood is and long has been, ſhould be the head of a party of the younger Surgeons, when theſe are engaged in a violent oppoſition to an unanimous reſolution of the Managers with reſpect to the choice and mode of attendance of the Surgeons of the Infirmary, is ſtill more marvellous; and to many people will appear incredible; eſpecially to thoſe who know, as Mr John Bell might have done, if he had taken the trouble to enquire, or even to look into the minutes of the corporation of Surgeons, that the ſentiments of Mr Wood in favour of ſelection from among the Surgeons, and againſt their indiſcriminate attendance in the Hoſpital by rotation, were long ſince publicly avowed and teſtified both by word and deed, and to this day ſtand on record. Full five and thirty years ago he accepted the appointment (by the Managers) of one of the four *ſubſtitute* Surgeons to the Infirmary. This he certainly would not have done, if he had not known that it was right, or if he had wiſhed to preſerve that pretended equality among the Surgeons of Edinburgh,

for

for which Deacon Kennedy and Co. had fought ſo manfully near thirty years before. But the ſpirit of Deacon Kennedy reſted on Mr Wood's brethren in 1766; who, taking grievous umbrage at ſuch a violation of their equal rights and merits, ſoon engaged in a violent conteſt about it with the Managers, which laſted ſeveral years, and at laſt worried them out of it. I have been informed by men whoſe authority I cannot diſtruſt, but not having acceſs to their minutes, I cannot aſſert from my own knowledge, that during that long and keen conteſt, Mr Alexander Wood was the principal champion who fought the battle for the Managers in the corporation of Surgeons, and that, being outvoted by his brethren, he formally proteſted againſt their proceedings, and that his proteſts ſtill remain on record.

I have heard that Mr Wood, as being a Manager of the Infirmary, from conſiderations of delicacy, *declined voting* as a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, in *any of the queſtions* relating to the preſent conteſt between theſe two corporations. Perhaps he would have acted on the ſame principle, and with equal delicacy, by declining to vote on the ſame conteſt at any meeting of the Managers, if he had had an opportunity. But, to the beſt of my knowledge and belief, no ſuch opportunity occurred. I heard of no vote or diſſention among the Managers on the ſubject. They ſeemed to me to act unanimouſly and cordially in the buſineſs.

That kind of delicacy which induced Mr Wood to decline voting on this conteſt in the College of Surgeons, by ſome will be thought right, and by others wrong. As it does not concern either me or my argument, I ſhall offer no opinion about it, and make no remark on it but one, which will ſcarce admit of diſpute; that, be it right or wrong, it is no proof, and affords no preſumption or probability, that Mr Wood had changed his opinion, ſo long, ſo publicly, ſo ſtrenuouſly maintained, and actually manifeſted by his conduct. If Mr John Bell thinks otherwiſe,

and

and ſeriouſly wiſhes to prove that Mr Wood has changed his original opinion, and been the head of the party of the junior Surgeons in this their moſt brilliant conteſt with the Managers, it will be worth his while to give ſome proof of ſo marvellous a *fact*. If he can eſtabliſh his *fact*, he ſurely will not let ſlip ſo fine an opportunity of having a clean fair cut at me, by aſſerting, that the change in Mr Wood's ſentiments was all my doing, all the effect of my deteſtable Memorial; and that it illuſtrates completely, and proves, as far as one inſtance can prove ſo general a propoſition, what he has done me the honour to ſay of me, (Anſwer, page 8.), "That my talents are of a peculiar kind;—uſeleſs to my profeſ-"ſion, dangerous to ſcience, terrible to all but my enemies, and "invariably fatal to every good cauſe which I have the cruelty to "eſpouſe."

I beg it may be obſerved, however, that though I cannot help feeling, and even expreſſing ſome diſtruſt, as well as ſurpriſe, at Mr John Bell's declaration, that Mr Wood is the head of their party among the Surgeons on this occaſion, yet I by no means preſume to contradict it; which in truth I have no authority, or right, or intereſt to do. I leave it to thoſe whom it concerns to adjuſt it at their leiſure, or to let it alone, juſt as they think beſt. In the mean time, I truſt that Mr John Bell, with his uſual kindneſs to me, will allow me to ſuſpend my belief with reſpect to ſo ſtrange a fact, as Mr Alexander Wood being the head of the party of the junior Surgeons at preſent, till either he himſelf acknowledges it, or ſome evidence is produced of it, or at leaſt till I hear of it from ſome other quarter, which I have never yet done. Conſidering how lamentably and how uniformly unfortunate Mr John Bell has been in all his facts, juſt as poſitively aſſerted, with reſpect to me, it ſeems neither an irrational, nor improbable, nor uncandid conjecture, that he may have been almoſt as unfortunate with reſpect to that fact which relates to Mr Wood.

I am much more intereſted, and indeed ſtrongly called upon, to acknowledge my great obligations to Mr John Bell, for the extraordinary lenity and kindneſs to me manifeſted in the 4th page of his 3d ſection, where he has taken occaſion to ſuggeſt a few gentle hints about my extraordinary ignorance. " Conſcious of " the atrocity of his repreſentations, he acknowledges, and re- " peatedly avows his ignorance! A ſuperfluous document, God " knows! and to us a ſlender conſolation. His ignorance! after " what he has publiſhed againſt us, what could his confeſſions of " ignorance avail? We know his ignorance; we could have " *proved*, had he ventured to deny it, a degree of ignorance, " which, in the character he has thought fit to aſſume, is crimi- " nal."

He is perfectly right in ſparing himſelf the trouble of proving my *ignorance*; that is, as appears by the context, my ignorance of *Surgery*. He judged rightly, that any ſuch proof would be unneceſſary, his bare aſſertion being at leaſt of equal force with any proof that he could bring; juſt as an honeſt man's word is as good as his bond. I have no doubt that all his clients, all his friends, all who know him, nay, all who, without knowing him perſonally, have ſeen in his writings but ten or a dozen ſamples of his knowledge, and accuracy, and judgment, and caution, and candour, would truſt as much to his aſſertion, as to his moſt elaborate proofs of my ignorance of every thing, juſt as they would take his word as readily as his bond for L. 1000.

This plainly being the caſe, I can ſcarce find words to expreſs my gratitude to him, for that remnant of former kindneſs towards me, which hath made him confine his remarks on my ignorance, to my criminal ignorance of Surgery. I humbly hope he will have the goodneſs to continue the ſame moderation and delicacy, and not inſiſt on aſſerting (that is *proving*) my ſtill more criminal ignorance of Phyſic. The difference to him would be next to nothing;

thing; but to me it would be a very ſerious matter. It is poſſible, that notwithſtanding all his aſſertions (proofs) of my criminal ignorance of Surgery, I may yet continue to pick up a few miſerable guineas by the practice of Phyſic, ſo as to keep ſoul and body together a few years longer. But if he ſhould take it into his head to aſſert (prove) my more criminal ignorance of Phyſic, which I am ſure he could do as eaſily as he has aſſerted (proved) that I never ſaw Mr Wood operate, never ſaw an operation, know no Surgeons, never entered the Surgeons wards in this Hoſpital, &c. &c. I ſuſpect that I ſhould ſoon be forced to betake myſelf to a more ſpare regimen than would ſuit my conſtitution, or than I have ever yet ventured to preſcribe for any of my patients. I have ſome notion even that the too great facility of proving my ignorance of Phyſic, and the greater difficulty, if any thing could be difficult to his ſuperior genius, of *proving* my ignorance of Surgery, may have induced him to prefer the latter to the former topic. He has however taken care to ſhew what he could do, and even to ſtate the general principle on which all ſuch deciſive aſſertions (proofs) of my ignorance of Phyſic might be eſtabliſhed. "The Memorialiſt is ſo ignorant in our profeſſion, that he applies "to it the rules and canons of his own; he believes that Surgery, "like Medicine, is an uncertain and ſpeculative ſcience," &c. (Sect. 2d, page 48.). By this ſimple and comprehenſive canon, which he has ſo eaſily and happily proved, it follows plainly, that whenever I pronounced that a patient was far gone in a conſumption, Mr John Bell has only to aſſert, and he would *ipſo facto* prove, that the diſeaſe was a dropſy; if I called it a dropſy, he could prove that it was a violent fever; if I called it a violent fever, he could prove that it was only a very bad old pox; if I called it an old pox, he could prove that it was an apoplexy; if I preſcribed large bleeding and water-gruel, he could prove that the patient's only chance for life, was eating a pound of beef ſteaks to his din-

ner, and drinking a bottle of port after it; if I adviſed a patient to ride on horſeback and bathe in the ſea, Mr John Bell could prove that he ought to have been confined to his bed, with a large bliſter on his head, and muſtard cataplaſms at his feet. Not one of theſe *proofs* ſhould I ever think of diſputing; and not Mr John Bell only, but any body that pleaſed, might give ten thouſand ſuch proofs, as eaſily as he could ſay Jack Robinſon.

But to give ſuch proofs of my ignorance of Surgery is quite another matter: it is more *dignus vindice nodus*, and on this very account the more worthy of Mr John Bell's peculiar genius. To men of ordinary talents, it would appear almoſt as difficult as to *prove* my ignorance of the ſciences of magic and judicial aſtrology, or of the practical arts of playing on the fiddle or dancing on the tight rope; and pretty nearly for the ſame reaſons, namely, that I neither profeſs thoſe ſciences, nor ever attempted to practiſe thoſe arts.

Mr John Bell, I know, can eaſily ſpecify one memorable inſtance of a kind of diſpute in which I once happened to be engaged about a point in Surgery. But to the beſt of my remembrance and belief, that inſtance has been the only one of the kind in which I have been concerned, directly or indirectly, in the courſe of full ſix and twenty years that I have practiſed as a Phyſician in this city. And I am ſure that Mr John Bell, unrivalled as his talents are for proving whatever he pleaſes, will find ſome difficulty in proving, that *that* one was an inſtance of my criminal ignorance of Surgery. For, firſt, the opinion which I declared in that caſe, was formed on the plaineſt evidence of *two* of my own ſenſes; ſecondly, it was confirmed by the concurrent opinion of *two* experienced Surgeons, Mr Benjamin Bell and Mr Arrot; thirdly and laſtly, but not leaſt on this important occaſion, my opinion was confirmed, a few weeks after, by the individual Mr John Bell himſelf; who, by the moſt admirable manœuvre that ever I heard of, was called

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in by thoſe who differed from us, I firmly believe for no other reaſon, but the full confidence they had, that he would joyfully embrace ſuch an opportunity of deciding, right or wrong, againſt his dear friend and nameſake, and profeſſional brother, Mr Benjamin Bell. But Mr John Bell was too ſharp for them.

That the ſame perſon may practiſe both Phyſic and Surgery with great credit to himſelf and benefit to others, I ſhall never diſpute. But to do this, he muſt have been regularly bred to both branches of the profeſſion, and muſt underſtand them both thoroughly. This is undeniably the caſe with many practitioners in this iſland, whether called Surgeons or Phyſicians. It is one of the effects, and I think a very good effect, of the very flouriſhing ſtate of the Edinburgh Medical School for more than half a century paſt, of the cheapneſs of medical education here, and of the Profeſſors of Phyſic for the greater part of that time having all taught in Engliſh. Theſe circumſtances combined, have long put it in the power of thoſe who mean to practiſe firſt and chiefly as Surgeons, to acquire competent knowledge of Phyſic. Accordingly, we find, not only among the moſt eminent practitioners called Surgeons in this city, but among army and navy Surgeons, and often among Surgeons ſettled in very ſmall country towns, many men perfectly qualified to practiſe Phyſic as well as Surgery. In many ſituations, as in the army, the navy, and in ſmall country towns, it is abſolutely requiſite that the ſame perſon ſhould practiſe both branches of the medical profeſſion, or all three, including Pharmacy; juſt as in ſuch country towns, the ſame ſhopkeeper muſt be woollen and linen draper, tobacconiſt, cheeſemonger, hardware-man, and grocer. But in great towns, this is not neceſſary; and it has been thought, that ſome conſiderable advantages might reſult from the ſeveral branches of Medicine being practiſed ſeparately, by different perſons; juſt as in a great manufactory, one man is employed ſolely in making the head,

head, and another in making the point of a pin. The ſame man, no doubt, might make both the head and the point; but probably he would not make them either ſo faſt or ſo well.

Conceiving that one branch of the medical profeſſion was enough for me, and that probably I might underſtand it the better for giving my attention to it alone, I have uniformly through life endeavoured to keep as ſtrictly as poſſible within the limits of my own province; and I never yet heard that any Surgeon or Apothecary complained of my interfering in his province. It would be abſurd to ſay that I *never* gave an opinion or advice in a caſe that properly belonged to the province of Surgery; for the merely telling a patient that his caſe required the aid of a Surgeon, and that as a Phyſician I could do him no eſſential ſervice, which I have done ſome thouſands of times, implies the having formed an opinion of ſuch a caſe. But I can ſay with perfect confidence, that I never attempted to practiſe Surgery; that I never yet gave an opinion in any chirurgical caſe in which I had not the evidence of at leaſt one of my own ſenſes to determine my judgment; that in all doubtful caſes, (either wholly or partly chirurgical), and in many that I did not think doubtful, but wiſhed the patients to have the beſt profeſſional opinions and aſſiſtance that could be got, I have inſiſted on their having the opinion of a profeſſed Surgeon; in ſome caſes, even a conſultation of more than one; that in all ſuch caſes, I ſhould truſt much more to the opinion of Surgeons than to my own, if we chanced to differ in opinion. But of ſuch difference of opinion, (between myſelf and profeſſed Surgeons in a chirurgical caſe), I have never known but that one inſtance already mentioned, in which, to my unſpeakable comfort and very great amuſement, Mr John Bell had the goodneſs to decide in my favour. I heartily wiſh I could be as ſure, or nearly ſo, of being as uniformly right in the opinions I have given, or may hereafter give, in caſes purely medical; in which, very generally,

nerally, the ſame direct evidence of our ſenſes cannot be obtained, and too often is but ill compenſated by all the aids which reaſoning and medical ſcience can afford.

As Mr John Bell is ſo much better acquainted with my criminal ignorance of Surgery than I am myſelf, and muſt be ſenſible how gratifying it would be to his clients, his friends, his profeſſional brethren, and mine too, and my pupils, and to the public at large, to ſee his proofs of that ignorance, I hope he will perceive that it would be a downright ſin to with-hold them. It will not be neceſſary to publiſh them all, as they would probably be too voluminous; but one handſome volume in quarto, price four guineas in boards, containing a ſmall ſample of them, will be a valuable piece of literary property, for which my good friend and bookſeller Mr Creech will be ready to treat with him on the moſt liberal terms; it being evident, conſidering both the author and the ſubject of it, that the book muſt ſell at leaſt as well as Dr Blair's Sermons or Dr Buchan's Family Phyſician.

Any perſon who has read my former Memorial, or who will now take the trouble to look into it, muſt perceive, that Mr John Bell has taken the hint, of which he has ſo well availed himſelf in his Philippic on my criminal ignorance of Surgery, and in his aſſertions (proofs) that I never ſaw an operation, &c. from what I have mentioned in it, page 116, line 8. and 9. (that "though I "was obliged, as a ſtudent, to learn the general principles of "Surgery, as other Phyſicians do, I *never liked* to ſee the practice "of it)." By a ſlight but very happy change in my text, perfectly allowable to Mr John Bell in his capacity of advocate and avenger of his much injured junior Brethren, he has contrived to read or underſtand that I *never ſaw* an operation. There is the more merit in this noble emendation of that paſſage of my Memorial, that in the very next ſentence I mention, that I never am preſent at an operation in private practice, unleſs at the patient's

tient's particular deſire, and that of courſe I *ſee ſuch operations very ſeldom.*

Moſt men would think, that this irreſiſtibly implied that I ſaw ſuch operations *ſometimes*; which is the fact, as ſeveral of Mr John Bell's *ſenior* brethren, if he had taken the trouble to aſk them, could have teſtified from their own certain knowledge. But this is not even left to be gathered by implication; for in different places of my Memorial, I have incidentally mentioned in poſitive terms, my having occaſionally been preſent at chirurgical operations; for example, in page 185, where I mention, that, " I have " ſeen ſome Surgeons operate very well, whoſe ſight was ſo much " impaired, that they were obliged to uſe ſpectacles." (To the beſt of my remembrance, John Hunter was one of theſe); in page 21, where I mention, that " I have repeatedly ſeen a Surgeon operate " in the Infirmary, whoſe hand ſhook ſo much, that every ſtudent " who ſaw him, thought he ſhould ſcarce have undertaken to apply " a plaſter or a bandage. Yet, with that grievous defect, I have " ſeen him attempt a nice operation on the eye:" and in the preceding page, (20.), where I mention, that " So long ago as when " I was a ſtudent, and as ſuch accuſtomed to attend in the opera- " tion-room," (of this Infirmary), " it was not uncommon for " ſtudents to beſtow very freely their marks of approbation or " diſapprobation on different operators." I mentioned even being there, ſitting among the offenders, though I was not one of them, when their behaviour in this reſpect was ſo bad, as to bring on them a very ſevere but well-merited rebuke from Mr Alexander Wood. Perhaps Mr John Bell meant to contradict, that is, with him, to *diſprove*, all that I had ſaid on that point; for ſurely my declaring candidly, that I did not like to ſee the practice of Surgery, could no more imply that I never ſaw an operation, &c. than my acknowledging that I never *liked* to learn the rules of Latin Syntax, or the Table of Multiplication, or the Engliſh Alphabet,

phabet, can imply or render credible that I never learned theſe things; or than my declaring, that I neither like the ſight nor the ſmell of a putrid mangled human body, can imply or make it credible, that I have not ſeen many a diſſection. But theſe I conceive it neceſſary for me as a Phyſician to ſee very often. Not ſo chirurgical operations, as I never mean to practiſe Surgery, or to conſtitute myſelf a critic in it, or a judge of the real and comparative merits of different operators.

It is no leſs admirable, and much more intereſting, to obſerve the uſe which Mr John Bell makes of my criminal ignorance of Surgery, and of my never having ſeen an operation, &c. which he has ſo happily eſtabliſhed. It may be eaſily underſtood from the whole drift and tenor of his Anſwer to me; for I do not think it is explicitly ſtated in any one paſſage in particular, though it is ſtrongly implied in ſome of thoſe already quoted, and indeed in numberleſs others.

The whole of his Philippic againſt me, and much of his argument, or *proofs*, (as he is pleaſed facetiouſly to call them, Sect. 3. page 47. line 14.), in behalf of his own clients, reſt on the *tacitly aſſumed* principle, that every thing which I have ſtated ſo ſtrongly, of the evils reſulting from the indiſcriminate attendance and multitudinous conſultations of all the Surgeons of Edinburgh in the Infirmary, depends on my own perſonal obſervation, and my own private unaſſiſted judgment.

That this, though perhaps not directly aſſerted, is implied in his admirable pleading, is manifeſt from this plain conſideration, that if all that I have ſaid of thoſe evils were eſtabliſhed by other evidence, my criminal ignorance of Surgery, and my never having ſeen an operation, would be of no more conſequence in the diſcuſſion, than my total ignorance of the language of New Zealand, and my never having ſeen any of the operations or practices of the Cannibals who inhabit that happy country.

How repugnant that irreſiſtible implication is to the whole tenor of my Memorial, every perſon who has read it muſt perceive at once. The fact is, that I went completely to the oppoſite extreme, and carefully and uniformly avoided ſtating any one conſideration, or urging any argument, that depended on my own judgment, or my own means of obſerving.

If Surgery had been my favourite or only ſtudy for thirty years, and if during all that time I had regularly attended the Surgeons wards and operation-room of this Infirmary, and had paid the ſtricteſt attention to all the operations and other practice that I ſaw in them, I ſhould have thought myſelf, and certainly ſhould have been thought by others, a moſt arrogant, uncandid, and irrational critic and pretended reformer; if on the faith of my own obſervations, and on the force of my own reaſonings, I had aſſerted facts, which others, who had good opportunities of obſerving, did not acknowledge, and complained of evils, which the moſt competent judges did not perceive. What cenſure then could have been too ſevere for me, if without any pretenſions to critical knowledge of Surgery, or any minute obſervation of particular facts, I had acted in the ſame arrogant, uncandid, irrational manner?

The whole tenor of my former Memorial muſt ſhew how carefully I have avoided that diſgraceful error; but one ſhort paragraph expreſſes my ſenſe of it ſo ſtrongly, that I ſhall quote it here.

" If my opinion on this ſubject" (the indiſcriminate attendance of the Surgeons by rotation) " were new, or ſingular, though " long formed, I ſhould not preſume at this time to obtrude it on " the Managers. But for more than twenty years it has been my " firm opinion, and during all that time I have frequently had " occaſion to hear the ſame opinion ſtrongly expreſſed by many " different perſons, Students, Profeſſors of Medicine, Phyſicians,

" Surgeons,

" Surgeons, nay, even Managers of the Royal Infirmary; per-
" ſons well informed, and frequently eye-witneſſes of the evils re-
" ſulting from that ſyſtem which they agreed with me in con-
" demning," Mem. page 19.

My argument reſted not on my own obſervations and opinions, but on the common ſenſe of mankind, as teſtified by their conduct in the choice that they make of Phyſicians and Surgeons, when themſelves or their families have need of our profeſſional ſervices; and if poſſible, ſtill more ſtrongly ſhewn by the correſponding conduct of Phyſicians and Surgeons in ſimilar circumſtances, who certainly would think it a moſt cruel hardſhip, if they were precluded from making a ſelection among their profeſſional brethren, and were obliged to accept, even gratuitouſly, their aſſiſtance on any poſſible plan of indiſcriminate rotation, and ſtill worſe, if they were obliged to truſt themſelves and their families to a numerous and promiſcuous conſultation of Phyſicians or Surgeons, when perhaps exaſperated to the utmoſt at one another, by the moſt malignant and inveterate perſonal, profeſſional, and corporation diſputes. My argument reſted on the uniform conduct of the Managers of all other Hoſpitals, in ſelecting from the great number of Phyſicians and Surgeons in large towns, a few of each profeſſion whom they think beſt qualified to do the hoſpital-duty: it reſted in ſome meaſure on the original conduct of the firſt Managers of this Infirmary, and even on the words of their charter; on their conduct with reſpect to the Phyſicians, and that of the Phyſicians towards them; on the ſelf-evident truth, that Surgeons as well as Phyſicians acquire much improvement by extenſive practice and long experience in their profeſſion; and on the neceſſary conſequence of this truth, that it muſt be very unfavourable to the patients in this Hoſpital, to be committed to the care of young and inexperienced Surgeons: it reſted very much on what I knew (by their own declarations both in public and in private) of the ſentiments and remarks

of many of the moſt eminent Surgeons that have ever practiſed in this Infirmary, ſeveral of whom had withdrawn from that duty avowedly on account of the badneſs of the ſyſtem of indiſcriminate attendance by rotation, which I reprobated; and ſome of whom had even declared, that they would in their own College have moved for putting an end to it, had they not been afraid of incurring the ſuſpicion of having ſome private intereſt of their own in view, ſuch as expecting to be made Surgeons to the Infirmary themſelves, to the excluſion of many of their profeſſional brethren. Nay, my argument reſted very much on the admiſſions, the aſſertions, and the reaſonings of the Surgeons themſelves, on the faith of which, the bargain with the Managers was made. Thoſe aſſertions and arguments I took as ſtated by Deacon Kennedy and his friends in the Memorial about the Surgeons Hoſpital in 1737; but I took the liberty to conſider them relatively to the patients as well as to the Surgeons; and pointed out ſtrongly, that relatively to the Surgeons and their ſuppoſed improvement by their indiſcriminate attendance in rotation, they are inconcluſive, and even feeble; and that, on the ſuppoſition of the number of Surgeons attending in that manner being conſiderable, the improvement of each of them individually muſt be next to nothing; but that relatively to the ſick poor in the Hoſpital, the ſame facts and arguments are concluſive proof of a great and cruel wrong.

All theſe things I humbly conceive I might have *ſeen* clearly, and underſtood perfectly, and pointed out plainly to the conviction of the Managers, though I had never ſeen an operation, nay, though I had been ſtone blind from my birth, unleſs I had alſo been deaf, or an idiot; and though I had been ſo ignorant of Surgery, as not to know a trepan from an amputation knife, or a broken leg from a cancerous breaſt. It is much to be lamented, that Mr John Bell and his clients did not extend their remarks on ignorance of Surgery, and of all that paſſed in the Surgeons wards, and in the operation-room

operation-room of this Infirmary, to the *minority* of their own profeſſional brethren, I mean the fourteen out of twenty-nine, at a very memorable meeting of their College; which fourteen, comprehending many of the moſt eminent Surgeons that at preſent are, or ever were, in Edinburgh, and who have done the longeſt and beſt duty in this Infirmary, declared, in the moſt explicit terms, that the indiſcriminate attendance of the Surgeons in rotation was *irreconcileable with the good of the Infirmary.*

A ſtronger teſtimonial in favour of my argument can ſcarce be wiſhed, nay, hardly conceived; but there is one other, nearly the ſame in ſubſtance, which has the advantage of being *unanimous*, given at a very full meeting of the Royal College of Surgeons, given, as it were incidentally, in the courſe of a calm and deliberate conſideration of another ſubject; given, not as an imperfect, reluctant, extorted teſtimony about a thing doubtful, or obſcurely known, or capable of being diſputed, but as a frank avowal of a thing notorious and acknowledged; given long before my Memorial was ever thought of, at a period nearly equally diſtant from the end of the laſt great conteſt and the beginning of the preſent conteſt with the Managers, about the mode of attendance of the Surgeons in the Infirmary, and ſeemingly not connected with, or vitiated or modified by, any of their own perſonal, profeſſional, or corporation diſputes.

Not having acceſs to their records, I cannot preſume to give the following account of what paſſed in their College about eighteen years ago, as an exact tranſcript from their own minute-book; but I have it from ſuch authority, that I can have no doubt of its being in ſum and ſubſtance perfectly true. If any of them ſuſpect that there is any error in it, he may ſatisfy himſelf by conſulting their minutes; by them I ſhall abide.

Surgeons

Surgeons Hall, Edinburgh, 9th Auguſt 1784.

Mr * * repreſented, That it was conſidered by many of the members as a very great hardſhip, that the Surgeons attending upon the Royal Infirmary ſhould not have the power of admitting and diſmiſſing the patients in the chirurgical department, but that it ſhould be veſted in the Phyſicians of the Hoſpital, who have no concern in the cure of theſe patients; and he moved, that a petition be preſented to the Managers for an alteration of a rule ſo injurious to the attendant Surgeons. Mr * propoſed, that it ſhould be referred to the conſideration of a committee compoſed of Meſſ. * * * * and *.

The committee reported, That they had fully conſidered the propoſal, and were clearly of opinion, that ſuch an alteration would be highly proper and agreeable; but at the ſame time, after peruſing the Managers laſt minute on that ſubject, find their refuſal expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pointed terms. The committee, therefore, humbly ſuggeſted, that previous to making ſuch application, the Royal College ſhould endeavour to collect the ſentiments of the Managers, and by that means be able to diſcover what probability there is of their petition being attended to.

They are likewiſe of opinion, that it would be imprudent to run the riſk of irritating the Managers by repeated applications of this nature, and thereby afford them an apology for adopting meaſures WHICH, HOWEVER ADVANTAGEOUS THEY MIGHT BE TO THE HOSPITAL, WOULD BE ATTENDED WITH ESSENTIAL PREJUDICE TO THE INTEREST OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE. The above report being conſidered by the meeting, *was unanimouſly approved of.*

Such, I have good reaſon to believe, were the words of the report of a reſpectable committee, and ſuch the unanimous opinion of a very full meeting of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1784. I underſtand that ſix and twenty Fellows of the College were preſent

at

at that meeting, and approved of that report. I have ſuppreſſed here the names of the gentlemen preſent, and even of thoſe (five in number) who formed the committee; for the names of individuals are not eſſential to my argument; and it happens, ſomewhat unfortunately, that while *three* of the *five* who ſo honeſtly avowed that what was *advantageous to the Hoſpital*, was to be prevented becauſe it would be *prejudicial to the intereſt of the Royal College*, have on the preſent occaſion moſt honourably preferred the good of the Hoſpital (that is of the ſick poor) to the intereſt, real or ſuppoſed, of their own College; the other *two* have done juſt the contrary. Whether the conduct of theſe two, (of the committee), and of ſome others of the College who concurred in unanimouſly approving of that report, and yet have keenly oppoſed the Managers on the preſent occaſion, proceeds entirely from their love of conſiſtency, or from pure zeal for the intereſt of their own Royal College, or from the perverſe operation of my unlucky Memorial on ſome irritable conſtitutions, it is very difficult, or perhaps impoſſible to aſcertain. But there is no difficulty whatever in aſcertaining that their conduct does not proceed from pure zeal, or any zeal at all, for the welfare of the ſick poor in the Hoſpital.

The unlooked-for acquiſition of that moſt precious and characteriſtic document, of the ſentiments of the Surgeons themſelves, with reſpect to the oppoſition between the *advantage* of the Hoſpital, and the *intereſt* of their Royal College, enables me to explain, (I truſt ſufficiently), to what facts and circumſtances I alluded in the following paſſage of my former Memorial, (page 259, 260.)

" It is poſſible, however, that ſome particular facts or circum-
" ſtances, unknown to me, or heard of only as vague reports, to
" which I could pay no regard, may be well known to the Sur-
" geons, and may by them be thought of ſuch importance in
" behalf of the preſent ſyſtem, that I ought to have ſtated them,
" and given them their full weight in this paper. I am ſenſible

" that

" that any wilful ſuppreſſion of ſuch facts or circumſtances on
" my part, would be juſt as bad as the fabrication of falſehoods
" to ſerve my purpoſe. . . . . .

" Therefore, to preclude at once all ſuch ſurmiſes, I hereby
" publicly make them this offer, which they muſt all acknow-
" ledge to be fair. . . . . .

" If any *facts* or *circumſtances* known to them have been omit-
" ted in this Memorial, which they think ſhould have been *ſtated*
" in it, as involving the honour and intereſt, either of their Col-
" lege in general or of any individual member of it, and which,
" on mature deliberation, they wiſh to have as publicly known
" as this paper will be, let them give me *authentic information* of
" thoſe things, and I engage, without delay, to print them in
" their own words, in an Additional Memorial, which ſhall be
" diſtributed in the ſame manner as this; and either to admit
" them to be valid, or to give my reaſons for diſregarding
" them. . . . . .

" They will not, I preſume, underſtand by this offer, that I un-
" dertake or wiſh to argue their caſe for them. I have the humi-
" lity to believe, that they would rather truſt it to a conſultation of
" the five and twenty youngeſt Lawyers at the bar, or to all of
" them in rotation; rather to Jonathan Dawplucker himſelf; per-
" haps rather to the Devil, than to me. But I wiſh them fully to
" know, that there is no wilful ſuppreſſion, on my part, of any
" fact or circumſtance favourable to them, and unfavourable to
" my cauſe; and that I ſhould conſider any ſuch diſingenuous
" conduct, as both diſgraceful to myſelf, and inconſiſtent with the
" honeſt and benevolent purpoſe of this Memorial."

At firſt ſight, one ſhould think it no eaſy matter either to miſun-derſtand that very candid and liberal offer which I made, or to miſtake the reaſon and purpoſe of it, or to take offence at it. But Mr John Bell has had the good fortune to do all theſe things,

ſeemingly

ſeemingly with the utmoſt eaſe and even pleaſure: ſuch is the force of ſuperior genius.

By the ſimple expedient of ſuppreſſing the firſt two paragraphs, and alſo the laſt paragraph, of that paſſage, and alſo mutilating *a little* the third paragraph, which he gives in the following words, " But if there be any facts or circumſtances, which, on mature " deliberation, they wiſh to have as publicly known as this paper " will be, *let them give me authentic information*," he has contrived to make it a ſubject of great wrath, and moſt ſevere reprehenſion. I ſcarce think he could have expreſſed his indignation in more violent terms, if I had inſiſted on adminiſtering a large doſe of ratſbane to him, and to each of his profeſſional Brethren. His words are theſe:

" We know not how this gentleman came to think of addreſſing " language of this kind to men as capable as himſelf of repreſenting " to the Public the principles of their profeſſion, as capable of jud- " ging impartially and honeſtly for the intereſts of a public Cha- " rity! Nor can we imagine where, among the diplomatic re- " cords, in Imperial Ukaſe, or in Turkiſh Firman, the author " found precedent for this auguſt ſtyle! but well we know, that " nothing has been promulgated by Paul Emperor of all the Ruſ- " ſias, in his preſent perturbed ſtate of mind, more ſupreme than " this declaration," &c. *Sect. I. page* 49.

All this furious reprimand and abuſe, only for offering to print and publiſh any thing which the Surgeons themſelves might think I ought to have publiſhed in my original Memorial, as favourable to their cauſe; and the *not* publiſhing of which might have been regarded as wilful and diſingenuous ſuppreſſion of the truth. My offer went no farther; and was only a reaſonable and fair precaution on my part to prevent an unjuſt and foul ſuſpicion, to which otherwiſe I ſhould have been expoſed. For, admitting that the Surgeons were as capable as myſelf, or infinitely

more capable, of repreſenting to the Public whatever they pleaſed; admitting even that they were as capable of judging *impartially and honeſtly for the intereſts of a public Charity*, which it now appears *indiſputably* that ſo lately as 1784 they were *unanimouſly reſolved not to do;* and ſuppoſing further, that they had actually publiſhed, in an anſwer to my Memorial, all thoſe facts and circumſtances to which I alluded; ſtill any ſuch publication of theirs, far from being a vindication of me, would have been a ſtrong article of evidence againſt me. Suppoſing what I had heard to be true, I was bound in candour and fair dealing to ſtate it publicly in my Memorial: but ſuppoſing it falſe, I ſhould certainly have incurred the reproach of wilfully fabricating ſuch a falſehood; for I had heard it only as a vague report, and was not even at liberty, having given my promiſe to that effect, to mention the perſons from whom I heard it, and who themſelves could not vouch for the truth of it. Then, the circumſtances, to which I alluded, were, like thoſe in Deacon Kennedy's Memorial, of ſo ambiguous a nature, that in one point of view they were ſtrongly in favour of the claim of the Surgeons; but in another point of view they were, in my opinion, deciſively againſt them: But I could not avail myſelf of them for my purpoſe, till they were either authenticated to me by ſome individual from his own certain knowledge, or were openly avowed by the Surgeons themſelves collectively.

The paſſage quoted (page 143,-4.) from my former Memorial, of which it is the end, was intended not only to prevent unfavourable ſuſpicions of my wilfully ſuppreſſing thoſe circumſtances, but to procure ſome authentic information, or if poſſible an avowal of them by the Surgeons collectively, if on mature deliberation they ſhould chooſe to diſpute the point with the Managers. An attentive reader will perceive at once that the whole of that paſſage, comprehending four paragraphs, as already quoted, is ſupplemental. It was written after my Memorial was (as I thought) finiſhed,

ed, and even in print; in conſequence of my being told that I might perhaps meet with more difficulty and oppoſition from ſome of the Surgeons than I was aware of, and this on principles ſomewhat different from thoſe which I had ſtated. It was ſuggeſted to me, by two or three different perſons, who knew of my Memorial, that ſome of the Surgeons conſidered their equal right of attending and operating in the Infirmary by rotation, not merely as an honourable privilege long ſince acquired, but as a matter of great intereſt, and in one reſpect even of *pecuniary* intereſt, to their College in its corporate capacity.

I was told, that the great advantages of that privilege, as a piece of *education* in Surgery which could be got *no where elſe*, had been ſometimes ſtrongly urged as an argument to induce ſome young men of the profeſſion to become members of the Royal College of Surgeons; which implies, in many caſes, paying a good round ſum of money to the College. I am convinced there was no miſtake in that information; for though I am not at liberty to mention his name, I can ſtate, that ſoon after my former Memorial was diſtributed, I was informed by a gentleman of the profeſſion, that *that* argument had been ſtrongly urged to induce him to *enter* with the College of Surgeons; which however he has not done.

I was told that ſome individuals knowing of that privilege, and thinking it a good piece of education in their profeſſion, had actually on that account paid their money to become Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, though they did not mean afterwards to reſide or practiſe in this City or in its neighbourhood. It might be injurious as well as indelicate to individuals, who may afterwards change their mind and ſettle here, to mention names: but I preſume the fact in general will not be diſputed. How far that branch of the revenue of the Royal College of Surgeons may be increaſed, how much the proſperity of their Widows Fund, (a noble inſtitution, which does their Society, and

particularly Mr Hay, very great honour) may be promoted, by that application of their privilege of attending indiſcriminately in the Infirmary, it is difficult or impoſſible to determine. But it is unneceſſary to dwell on ſuch points, which are more than tacitly given up, by Mr John Bell and his clients, in ſhifting the very dangerous and untenable ground that Deacon Kennedy and his friends had choſen, and declaring, to the aſtoniſhment as well as edification of the ignorant and malevolent vulgar, that young Surgeons were not, like young Phyſicians, capable of being improved by experience, and notoriouſly ſtanding much in need of it, as Deacon Kennedy and Co. had ignorantly and wickedly aſſerted; but on the contrary, in full perfection from the moment that they become Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, and conſequently incapable of growing better. But admitting, in compliment to Mr John Bell, and his Junior Brethren and Clients, that the youngeſt Surgeons who have become Fellows of their Royal College can never grow better, it is at leaſt abundantly evident that they muſt all be very capable of growing worſe, as they grow older; their eyes growing dim, their hands unſteady, themſelves lazy, negligent, and forgetful of what they had learned when young; and probably ſome of them growing drunken, inſolent, and brutal; for to theſe ſad infirmities the individuals of our moſt noble Faculty, juſt like men of all other profeſſions and of no profeſſion, are unfortunately ſubject.

If therefore Mr John Bell's noble diſcovery be admitted, namely, that the youngeſt Surgeons are in full perfection, neither needing, nor capable of receiving, any improvement by experience, ſtill it would follow, as a neceſſary conſequence, that a ſelection ought to be made among all the Surgeons Fellows of the Royal College, juſt to give the charge of the patients in the Hoſpital to the youngeſt and moſt inexperienced of them; all of whom, on the principle aſſumed, muſt have attained the utmoſt poſſible

or

or conceivable improvement, and none of whom (merely for want of time) can have fallen off from that high ſtate of perfection.

I ſcarce think that either Mr John Bell or his clients will venture to maintain, but if they ſhould try it, I am ſure they will get no body to believe, that either by an expreſs clauſe, or by ſome ſecret charm in the charter of their Royal College, the Fellows of it are exempted from the common infirmities of human nature; and in particular, preſerved from growing old, and ſtupid, and lazy, and half blind, and careleſs, brutal, and drunken.

To ſuch little peculiarities and misfortunes as theſe I alluded in my former Memorial; as I think, in the moſt delicate, and certainly in the moſt general terms; but in ſuch a manner as could not fail to be underſtood by all intereſted in the ſubject, and qualified to judge of it. Theſe were my words: "Common ſenſe, "and juſtice, and humanity, all require, that for ſo difficult and "important a truſt, ſome ſelection ſhould be made; and that ſome "regard ſhould be paid to the experience, and to the *perſonal* and "*profeſſional character*, as well as to the education and ſtation of "the perſons in whom that truſt is repoſed." *Mem.* p. 30.

I thought it unneceſſary and indelicate to be more particular on ſuch a ſubject. But now that Mr John Bell and his clients have made it neceſſary, and have obligingly removed all ſcruples in point of delicacy, I ſhall explain myſelf more fully.

Whatever may be the character and habits of the individual Members of the Royal College of Surgeons at preſent, of many of whom I have ſcarce any knowledge, and of none of whom I muſt be underſtood here to expreſs any opinion, I am ſure, that even within my memory, ſeveral Fellows of that Royal College were very honeſt fellows; men duly attentive to moiſten their clay. This is certainly one of the moſt important duties which a rational being owes to himſelf, and accordingly has been approved and practiſed by many

many of the moſt orthodox Divines of all Chriſtian Churches, as well as by the greateſt Heathen Philoſophers: for Zeno, Plato, Ariſtotle, all were lovers of a bottle. It would therefore be little leſs than hereſy, and certainly would be uſeleſs, as well as abſurd, to object to it. But it muſt be owned, and it is much to be lamented, that the very frequent and zealous diſcharge of that ſacred duty which a man owes to himſelf, ſometimes interferes a little with the performance of thoſe ſecondary duties that he owes to others; for example, thoſe little offices which every man of the medical profeſſion owes to his patients. Accordingly, I have now and then ſeen ſome of thoſe very honeſt Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons viſiting their patients, when they had moiſtened their clay ſo effectually, that they could neither ſpeak articulately, nor walk or ſtand without ſtaggering, and when they muſt have been equally unfit to judge what ought to be done, or to perform any chirurgical operation that might have been needed.

The hour of the ordinary viſit of the Surgeons in the Infirmary, broad noon, muſt in general have preſerved their patients in it from ſuffering much in that way. But within my memory, ſome of the Surgeons *now dead*, who attended in it by rotation, were notorious ſots and drunkards; and as in caſes of accidents, or ſudden and urgent danger of patients previouſly in the Hoſpital, the attending Surgeon muſt come and officiate at any hour of the day, ſome unfortunate patients have had a little experience of ſuch Surgeons. If, in the courſe of judicial proceedings, it had become neceſſary to eſtabliſh by evidence ſome particular inſtances of that kind, I could have proved, by the moſt unexceptionable teſtimony of two eminent Surgeons, both of whom have had the honour to preſide over the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, both of whom were eye-witneſſes of the fact, and one of whom even was the aſſiſtant in the operation, that the attendant Surgeon operated in an urgent caſe when he was ſo drunk, that he did not know

the

the back of his knife from the edge, and actually attempted to cut with the back of it.

Another of thoſe very honeſt fellows gave me once, in private practice, a good ſpecimen of his talents and character: and as ſuch an inſtance explains better than any general remarks can do what I here wiſh to point out, I ſhall ſtate briefly the fact.

Near twenty years ago, I was called at midnight to ſee a gentleman, who, I was told was very ill. I found him extremely ill indeed, with high fever, and ſtrong marks of violent internal inflammation. From ſome very peculiar ſymptoms which I obſerved in him, I ſuſpected that the inflammation was ſeated in his liver: but as this diſeaſe, at leaſt in its violent form, is uncommon in this country, I could not help diſtruſting my own judgment, and was led of courſe to examine him very minutely, and to put many queſtions to him, by his anſwers to which, I ſoon diſcovered that he was in the ſecret, and one of us: for we find one another out as eaſily as free maſons do. I then told him plainly what I ſuſpected his diſorder was, and what were my reaſons for doubting about it. He immediately put an end to my doubts, by telling me, that he was convinced I was right; for that two years before, when at Canton in China, where he had been as Surgeon to an Eaſt-India ſhip, he had had a ſevere imflammation of his liver, which had been cured by the uſual remedies. He had previouſly told me, that a few days before, when coming down by ſea from London to Edinburgh, he had been ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Lincolnſhire, and on that occaſion had been, for ſeveral hours, much expoſed to cold and wet. Having thus come to a right underſtanding with my patient, I left him under ſentence of a large bleeding without delay, and ſome other remedies of leſs conſequence. Before ſix in the morning I was called again to him with another ſtill more urgent meſſage, importing that he was much worſe, and ſeemed to be dying. I found him really much

worſe,

worſe, and in a very alarming ſituation; the cauſe of which was ſoon explained to me. When he, in conſequence of my advice at my former viſit, deſired that a Surgeon might be ſent for to bleed him immediately, the waiter (for my patient chanced to be lodged either in a tavern, or in lodgings adjoining to and connected with one) told him he had no occaſion to go far for a Surgeon, as there was one juſt at hand. This happened to be a worthy member of the Royal College, well known as an honeſt Fellow, but withal a very thirſty ſoul, who at that time was in the very act of moiſtening his clay in that tavern. As ſoon as he ſaw his patient, and learned that he wiſhed to be bled without delay, " Bleed you, Sir," (ſaid the jovial knight of the illuſtrious order of the ſcalpel), " you " have no occaſion to be bled; a bottle of wine will do you much " more good." The patient was too eaſily prevailed on to try, not indeed the whole bottle, which probably would have done his buſineſs effectually, but ſome glaſſes of wine; the effect of which was more than enough to convince him of his error and his danger, and to make him ſend on a violent hurry for me again, and at the ſame time for another Surgeon, of a very different character from the former, and not the leaſt of an honeſt fellow. This other Surgeon, by name Mr James Ruſſell, I found waiting in the patient's antichamber; for he had got the ſtart of me, and had examined the patient before I arrived. I immediately aſked him whether *he* had any ſcruples about bleeding the patient? " None at all," anſwered he, with great gravity, and peculiar dryneſs; " if you preſcribe " it, I ſhall do it." That, I told him, was all very well; but begged he would ſay frankly whether he had any doubts as to the propriety of it. He then told me very frankly, that it was plain the man had no other chance for his life. So to work he went immediately, and bled him largely, and repeated the ſame operation a few hours after, by which the patient was ſoon and eaſily cured.

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It was impoſſible to ſee ſuch a ſtriking example of the evils and dangers to which patients may be expoſed by the perſonal characters and habits of their medical adviſers and operators, without ſome painful reflections on the hard lot of thoſe poor patients, who, either in their own houſes, or in the Hoſpital, were entruſted to the care and ſkill of ſuch a practitioner: for that honeſt Fellow of the Royal College attended and operated in his turn in the Royal Infirmary. If, even on that ſlight occaſion, inſtead of playing the Doctor, and deciding on the expediency, or rather inexpediency, of the bleeding which I had preſcribed, he had endeavoured to perform it, as was his profeſſional duty, it might have been ſtill worſe for the patient: it might have ended in cutting an artery, and in the loſs of his arm or of his life. Or if the practitioner had been called to a patient with a fractured ſkull, or a ſtrangulated hernia, very poſſibly the ſame favourite remedy, the bottle of wine, would have been his firſt preſcription. But if he had thought of the difficult and dangerous operations required in thoſe caſes reſpectively, and had endeavoured to perform them, the reſult probably would have been equally fatal to the patients. Certain wiſe men have held, that ſome Phyſicians preſcribe, but I believe it has never yet been diſcovered that any Surgeons operate, as well when drunk as when ſober.

As I had no right and no power, at that time, to interfere in the management of the Royal Infirmary, and did not even know that it was poſſible to get rid of that cruel evil in the chirurgical department of it; and as I did not wiſh to break a bruiſed reed, for the honeſt fellow to whom I allude was ſcarce more fortunate in point of general eſtimation and profeſſional employment, than he had been in that one caſe; I took no further notice of the adventure at that time. But long after, indeed after his death, I learned, with much edification, that his character and habits were well known, by deciſive experience, in the Infirmary. He was par-

ticularly diſtinguiſhed from all the other honeſt Fellows of his college by his extraordinary care of the Surgeons inſtruments. He even inſiſted on having, while he attended in rotation, a ſeparate key to the preſs in which they are kept under the immediate care of the Surgeons Clerk or Houſe-ſurgeon; and by the help of that key uſed to pay frequent private viſits to them. The reaſon of this extraordinary attention was not known for ſome time; but at laſt the Matron diſcovered that he had a patient in that preſs, in the laſt ſtage of a conſumption, to whom his viſits were paid: namely, the Brandy bottle.

Though none of his brethren, at leaſt that ever I heard of, were ſuppoſed to viſit that Brandy bottle privately, yet ſeveral of them occaſionally did ſo in public, at broad noon, without the ſmalleſt reſerve or delicacy; as I can teſtify from my moſt certain knowledge: for many a time have I ſeen ſeveral of them prime with a good dram of brandy, juſt before they went to the theatre, to the final conſultation, and operation, on ſome unhappy patient. But I muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, that they drank their brandy moſt ſcientifically, out of a cupping-glaſs. I can even remember diſtinctly, though after an interval of four or five and twenty years, that one day a good deal of exquiſite chirurgical wit paſſed on the ſubject of what might probably have been the laſt application of the ſaid cupping-glaſs: occaſioned, as I underſtood, by one of their number being a little ſqueamiſh on that point; which the reſt of them ſeemed to think of no conſequence. I muſt alſo do them the juſtice to teſtify, that I never ſaw nor ſuſpected that any of them took ſuch an overcharge of the brandy as ſome naval and military heroes are ſaid to have done juſt before going to battle; or, as that valiant Knight, Moore of Moore-Hall, did; of whom we read, in the Authentic Ballad which records his perilous adventure with the Dragon of Wantley, that before he went forth to fight that horrid monſter, " to make him ſtrong

" and

" and mighty, he drank by the tale ſix pots of ale and a quart " of aqua vitæ;" which judicious preparation ſucceeded ſo well with him, that he ſlew the Dragon by a ſingle kick on the breech. It was never even ſuſpected that any one of thoſe brandy-drinking gentlemen had the ſmalleſt diſtruſt of his own proweſs. But I think it poſſible that ſome of the more claſſical of them had in mind Horace's very juſt compliments to his favourite Wine Caſk:

Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
Plerumque duro: tu ſapientium
Curas, et arcanum jocoſo
Conſilium retegis Lyæo:
Tu ſpem reducis mentibus anxiis,
Vireiſque, et addis cornua pauperi.
* * * * *
Narratur et priſci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluiſſe Virtus.

But more probably their chief or only purpoſe was to ſettle their nerves, and make their hands ſteady; which was certainly very laudable, and in ſome of them, I believe, very neceſſary. It is but fair to preſume that they acted on ſound medical principles; and in ſtrict obedience to the well known precept in the Medicina Salernitana, (a moſt precious work compiled about 700 years ago, for the benefit of Robert Duke of Normandy, the ſon of William the Conqueror).

Si nocturna tibi noceat potatio vini,
Hoc tu mane bibas iterum, et fuerit medicina.

Which precept, I firmly believe, has been more generally adopted and practiſed than any aphoriſm of Hippocrates. I ſcarce think they could have committed ſo abſurd a blunder as to apply to ſtrong waters what Ovid has ſaid of the vile ſpring waters of a certain place in Arcadia,

Ambiguis ſuſpectus aquis: quas nocte timeto:
Nocte nocent potæ: ſine noxa luce bibuntur.

But it is of no moment what was the cauſe of thoſe cupping-glaſſes of brandy: There can be no doubt what the effect of them ſoon would be.

I am ſure all the ſenior Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, who ſhall *chooſe* to remember the tranſactions of their own Society, between ſixteen and ſeven and twenty years ago, muſt know, from the occurrences that I have ſtated, the names of thoſe honeſt Fellows to whoſe conduct the preceding obſervations relate: and I have little or no doubt that moſt or all of them can eaſily give the names of two others of their Brethren, whoſe conduct ſhowed how very near a Fellow of their College may approach to the ſavage or the brute, without the help of either wine or brandy.

One of theſe worthies was diſtinguiſhed by the moſt arrogant conceit of his own ſuperior talents, and knowledge, and profeſſional ſkill; and by his moſt ſovereign contempt for moſt or all of his profeſſional brethren and their accompliſhments. Theſe ſentiments I have heard him expreſs without reſerve: as I preſume almoſt every perſon did, who had the happineſs of his acquaintance. But the diſplay which he gave of his character and ſentiments, by his conduct in the Hoſpital, was far beyond the reach of the moſt lively imagination to have ſuppoſed, in drawing a fictitious character of the ſame kind. The firſt act of his adminiſtration was to change at once all the dreſſings that his predeceſſor had ordered for the patients in the Surgeons wards. Nothing could ſhew more ſtrongly what he thought of his predeceſſor and of himſelf. I have been told that he acted in that manner repeatedly: I ſuppoſe, whenever he attended in rotation. A very eminent Phyſician ſtill living, Dr Currie of Liverpool, was an eye-witneſs of one of thoſe exhibitions; and in his letter to Mr Benjamin Bell, (anſwers to Mr B. B.'s queries), an extract of which has already been printed and diſtributed in the courſe of this diſcuſſion, (*Appendix to Mr B.'s Obſervations*, page 6. and 7.), ſpeaks of it in terms of the utmoſt indignation and horror.

horror. His words are theſe: "I cannot calmly think of what "I have often ſeen of your ſyſtem of attendance. How many poor "patients have been injured by it! Twenty-two years ago, when "I was attending your Hoſpital, the day on which the attending "Surgeon went off at the end of his two months, ... "now in his grave, ordered the whole of the dreſſings of every "patient to be changed in an inſtant, with every mark of con-"tempt. The impreſſion ſunk ſo deep, that I ſhall never loſe it.

"If, indeed, there were no other motives for ſelection in the "attendants on Hoſpitals, the moral qualities requiſite in Medi-"cal Practitioners would be ſufficient. What miſchief may not "be done by a wild Theoriſt, acting under the influence of vani-"ty and ſelf-conceit, in concert, as they generally are, with a ca-"pricious temper and unfeeling heart; where his conduct is un-"controuled, where life is at ſtake, and poverty and ſickneſs the "unreſiſting objects: yet people of this kind muſt be admitted "into Colleges and Corporations; as appears clearly to have been "the caſe in the inſtance to which I refer."

Indeed the words ſuppreſſed by Mr Bell, from conſiderations of delicacy, in printing that extract of Dr Currie's letter, were, if poſſible, more characteriſtic of Dr C.'s ſentiments than all that he has printed of it. It was not the perſon's name that in Dr C.'s original letter ſtood where Mr B. in printing it, has put the blank; but a ſhort and pithy deſcription of him in theſe words: "A ſavage, "now in his grave," &c. To convey to thoſe unacquainted with ſuch matters a juſt notion of the atrocity of his procedure, in changing at once all the dreſſings directed by his predeceſſor, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that *probably* all the patients in the Surgeons Wards had been treated tenderly and ſkilfully by the Surgeon whoſe attendance in rotation had juſt ceaſed. According to Mr John Bell's doctrine, approved and ſanctioned by his friends and clients, that every Fellow of their Royal College is perfectly qualified

qualified to do the Hoſpital duty, all the patients, before that change of all the dreſſings was made, *muſt* have been as well treated as poſſible. If ſo, there is much difficulty in conceiving that they were equally well treated, when and after that complete change was made. And if nine out of ten, or nineteen out of twenty of them, were doing well under their former treatment, which is highly probable; to give up the certainty of relief or cure which they enjoyed, for an uncertainty, was to expoſe them needleſsly to lengthened ſufferings and increaſed danger: eſpecially if the new dreſſings ordered were ſuch as no other Surgeon approved of, or, after ſeeing repeatedly their bad or no effects, would have employed. This, from what I have heard in converſation with ſome other Surgeons, the cotemporaries of that Savage, and from what I remember was one of his favourite dreſſings, I ſtrongly ſuſpect was the caſe.

Painful, diſguſting, and ſhocking as this ſubject is, I muſt not quit it, without mentioning one little ſpecimen more of the intellectual and moral endowments of another Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, who, in his turn, uſed to attend in the Hoſpital. This gentleman, though nowiſe deficient in the eſſential accompliſhments of a good opinion of himſelf, and due contempt for many of his brethren, was chiefly diſtinguiſhed, as far as I know, (and I knew him well ſome twenty or five and twenty years ago), by very high notions of his perſonal and profeſſional dignity. This ſentiment, as Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me fully teſtifies, is ſtill cheriſhed by many worthy Members of the Royal College of Surgeons; but it prevailed equally among many of them before he or his Anſwer were ever heard of. It happened, many years ago, but ſtill within my memory, that the Managers found it neceſſary to limit the uſe of wine (Port) in the Hoſpital, which ſome of the practitioners, both Phyſicians and Surgeons, were thought to preſcribe for their patients unneceſſarily, and too freely. It was ſaid, whether with ſtrict truth, or only as a good illuſtration of the nature

nature and greatneſs of the evil, I never took the trouble to aſcertain, that about that time the annual expence of the Hoſpital for Port wine was more than that for all other medicines put together. It certainly had become diſproportionately great. All of us, I believe, got a general admonition on this ſubject from the Managers; and I know that I, at that time one of the two Clinical Profeſſors, got a very ſtrong private admonition about it from Dr Cullen. Very lately, long after my former Memorial was diſtributed, I chanced to hear one of the Senior Surgeons mention particularly, what I had ſome imperfect remembrance of having heard long before, that ſome of the Surgeons, who were ſaid to be greater offenders in the waſte of wine than any of the Phyſicians were, had paid ſo little regard to the general admonition, that the Managers were obliged, not only to repeat it, but to enforce it with another regulation, that no Port wine ſhould be given to patients without permiſſion from a Manager, which the Surgeon was to apply for in caſe of real neceſſity; and which, it may be preſumed, would never be refuſed in ſuch a caſe, any more than the permiſſion of two Managers to open the body of a patient who has died in the Infirmary. Every perſon who has practiſed in it knows, that this, which may do good to thouſands, and can do harm to none, is not allowed to be done without the conſent of the relations or friends of the deceaſed, if any ſuch are at hand, and without the formal permiſſion, in writing, of two of the Managers. The purpoſe of theſe long eſtabliſhed regulations is not to prevent that which is right from being done, but to prevent it from being done *improperly*, in violation of the feelings of thoſe moſt nearly concerned, for the gratification of idle curioſity, or as making the Hoſpital a ſchool, and the dead patients the ſubjects of anatomical inſtruction. The opening of the body of a dead patient in the Infirmary, even in caſes in which it is moſt to be wiſhed for the improvement of medicine and the good of mankind, often is prevented,

vented, by the relations or friends of the deceaſed refuſing their conſent; but I doubt whether it ever was, or ever will be, prevented by the Managers refuſing their permiſſion; certainly never without very ſtrong reaſons, and ſuch as are not likely to occur.

It would have been but fair to preſume, till there was ſome experience or evidence of the oppoſite conduct on their part, that the Managers would act at leaſt as wiſely, humanely, and liberally, with reſpect to their formal permiſſion of giving Port wine to a poor patient whoſe ſituation really needed it, and as ſuch, was deliberately made known to them by the attending Surgeon. But then, the honour and dignity of the profeſſion, ſo cruelly outraged by that order of the Managers, were not to be meanly ſacrificed by acquieſcing in it without a ſtruggle; and in one heart at leaſt (I truſt there were not many ſuch among the Surgeons) that noble principle ſeems to have been paramount to all ſentiments of reaſon, of duty, and of humanity. A poor man under cure, on account of a ſeverely ſhattered leg, came to be in ſuch a ſituation, that wine was highly neceſſary for him, and the Surgeon very properly ordered it; but being reminded by the clerk that it was neceſſary to aſk the permiſſion of one of the Managers, broke out inſtantly, "Aſk permiſſion of the Managers! God damn them, "do they think I will aſk their permiſſion," &c. Accordingly he did not aſk the neceſſary permiſſion; the poor man did not get the wine which he ſo much needed, and died in a few days. The accident had happened in the ſervice of a gentleman, who very humanely ſent the poor man from a conſiderable diſtance to Edinburgh, recommending him to a Surgeon with whom he was intimately acquainted, in order to get him admitted into the Infirmary. This other Surgeon, from whom I heard theſe very edifying particulars, and who for many years was employed by the gentleman in queſtion to pay an annuity to the poor man's widow, calling to enquire about the patient ſoon after the demur with reſpect to the wine,

wine, and finding that he was ſinking faſt, ſent him wine from his own houſe immediately, but too late to ſave his life.

I doubt whether any human laws provide puniſhment adequate to ſuch miſdemeanors: probably not; as no lawgivers could foreſee any thing in human conduct at once ſo abſurd and ſo atrocious: and if they were puniſhed with juſt rigour, it would be no reparation to thoſe who had ſuffered or died by them; nor would it prevent other patients from ſuffering in the ſame way, or in numberleſs other ways, by the folly, the arrogance, the quarrels, the caprice, or the brutality, of their Phyſicians or Surgeons, if all the members of ſuch numerous corporations had a right to practiſe on them indiſcriminately. If ſuch a right were eſtabliſhed, the moſt notorious offender could not be ouſted of it without a violent ſtruggle, and a formidable law-ſuit, invidious in its commencement, tedious and expenſive in its proceſs, precarious in its iſſue; and withal of ſuch a nature and tendency, that if it ended favourably for the ſick poor in the Hoſpital, it muſt bring ruin and infamy on thoſe medical practitioners whoſe miſconduct gave occaſion to it.

Among the other inſtances of great rhetorical merit in Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, I muſt not omit to mention the admirable dexterity with which he contrives to allude to one of *my* quarrels with one of *his* profeſſional brethren; who of courſe could not fail to be the object of his warmeſt eſteem, admiration, and affection.

" Nor ſhall we ever envy that man his private feelings, who can " differ from him on a moral cauſe." Theſe are the words of Mr John Bell; irreſiſtibly implying that my conduct in that buſineſs muſt have been very bad: but he knew too well what he was about, to venture to mention any particulars; and he was ſure that I would not mention them, becauſe I could not do ſo without the greateſt indelicacy to ſome individuals, to whom I ſhould be ſorry to give pain, and without bringing on myſelf the reproach of

vanity and oſtentation. This I ſay, in full confidence, that he knew abundantly well the particulars of that ſtory; which, much againſt my inclination, and in ſpite of my utmoſt endeavours to keep it ſecret, was very generally known a dozen years ago. If he really did not know the particulars of that ſtory, it muſt have been entirely his own fault; if he had choſen to enquire, he might have learnt them minutely, and on complete authority; the original papers relating to it, for good reaſons, having been carefully preſerved, and being to this hour in my poſſeſſion. On the ſame ſuppoſition (of his not knowing the particulars, or even the ſubject and general tenor of my conduct in that unpleaſant buſineſs), it muſt be acknowledged that there is infinite merit, not only in point of candour, but in point of talents, in alluding to it ſo briefly, but at the ſame time ſo ſignificantly and deciſively, as a matter of reproach, and one in which I had been notoriouſly to blame.

An orator of inferior genius and ſkill would no doubt have endeavoured to tell the ſtory in a manner unfavourable to me; which would have ſpoiled all. I doubt whether even the genius of Mr John Bell can accompliſh ſuch an undertaking; but if he thinks otherwiſe, he has my hearty conſent, provided only he can obtain the conſent of his dear friend, my opponent on that occaſion, to try to make the beſt, or the worſt, that he can of it.

Nor is that the only inſtance of his perfect ſkill in that figure of rhetoric which is called by the French *reticence*; or of his dexterity in applying to perſons, things, and ſentiments, the maxim which originally, I believe, related only to little ſuperfluous words, *ſupprimit orator quod ruſticus edit ineptus*. He ſays not one word of my conduct to one of my own profeſſional brethren; with which I muſt preſume he was well acquainted, as the perſon to whom I allude recommended him to Mr Peter Hill, bookſeller in Edinburgh, and prevailed, or aſſiſted to prevail, on Mr Hill, to undertake the expence and riſk of printing and publiſhing his anſwer to me. This I had the pleaſure to hear of accidentally, juſt about the time when

when his Pamphlet came out: but, wiſhing to have complete information on the ſubject, I begged of my friend Mr Creech, to aſk Mr Hill, whether the fact was ſo. He very obligingly did ſo; and informed me that Mr Hill aſſured him it was juſt as I had been told. I preſume I owe that good office, on the part of my learned brother, to his reſentment againſt me, for having told him, near three years before, that I ſhould never again meet with him in the exerciſe of my profeſſion. I had never had that honour but in the courſe of my attendance on *one* patient, to whom I was called in, after he had been for many weeks under the care of that other phyſician; whom, though much my ſenior, I had not chanced to meet with in conſultation till after I had practiſed phyſic in Edinburgh twenty-two years. I had not even heard of his mode of practice; and of courſe was completely aſtoniſhed at the ſpecimen he gave me of it. I ſoon diſcovered that my learned brother was not only a Phyſician, but a walking Diſpenſary: for ſcarce had I time to tell the patient what medicines we had in our conſultation agreed to give him, when he put his hands in his pockets, and produced the medicines in queſtion; or what he choſe to give as them. As the patient did not ſeem ſurpriſed, I took it for granted that he was accuſtomed to this mode of proceeding, and approved of it; and therefore I let it paſs without animadverſion. The ſame practice being continued day after day, I diſcovered, in little more than a week, that my learned brother ſometimes gave the patient *quid pro quo*, to the very evident riſk of his life. This the Doctor was obliged to confeſs, as I had taken care to give the patient a receipt for the proper medicine, which he got from a good apothecary, and compared with what his phyſician had diſpenſed to him.

Worſe than all, I ſoon diſcovered that he paid ſeparate private viſits to the patient, at which he unſaid all that had been ſaid after conſultation at our joint public viſits; and urged the patient, and at one time prevailed on him, to take again a medicine, which had

operated on him violently and unfavourably; on which account it had, at my inſtance, been diſcontinued: for I was as certain as I can be of any thing in phyſic, that the patient muſt have died under the continued uſe of it. Finding that, after two very plain but civil admonitions from me, he ſtill perſiſted in that improper conduct, I took my reſolution without further delay; and told him peremptorily that I never would conſult with him again.

As ſoon as I had fairly renounced all intercourſe with my profeſſional brother, I mentioned the circumſtances of the ſtory, without his name, to another of our profeſſion, who inſtantly gueſſed the name of the offender. This excited my curioſity, and I tried the ſame experiment on ſeveral others, both Phyſicians and Surgeons, all of whom, at once, gueſſed the ſame perſon; and ſome of whom gave me ſimilar, or, if poſſible, worſe inſtances, of the ſame mode of proceeding on his part, of which they had in their own practice had ample experience. This of courſe fully confirmed my reſolution never again to expoſe myſelf to ſuch vexations, or my patients to ſuch dangers. I have ſince learnt, without much ſurpriſe, that notwithſtanding my gentle admonition, that phyſician has perſevered in the ſame laudable practice, which has been attended with that kind of ſucceſs that was to be expected from it. I ſhall only add, on this point, that I hope Mr John Bell, however unfavourably he may think of me in all reſpects, will at leaſt give me credit for truth and ſincerity, when I aſſure him, that I do not envy him his friend; but, on the contrary, heartily wiſh him joy of ſuch a friend, and wiſh that he may find many ſuch worthy friends.

There is yet, in his Anſwer to me, another ſpecimen of the ſame figure of rhetoric, ſo complete and exquiſite of its kind, that to moſt people it will appear incredible and impoſſible. Indeed I muſt confeſs, that I never ſaw nor heard of any thing *ſimile aut ſecundum* to it. But every perſon who is poſſeſſed of his admirable

Anſwer

Anſwer may in a moment convince himſelf of the reality of that maſterpiece of rhetorical art to which I allude. Prefixed, by way of Preface, to the Anſwer itſelf, is a letter, ſubſcribed (by appointment of the Meeting of the Junior Members of the Royal College of Surgeons) by Walter Harkneſs, in which I am charged with groſs miſrepreſentation of the character and conduct of the younger Surgeons; and Mr John Bell is by them requeſted to draw up an Anſwer to my Memorial. This he has accordingly done, in a manner worthy of himſelf and them, as we have already ſeen. But in no reſpect is his Anſwer more meritorious than in this, that, in the whole of it, not one word is ſaid of the complete vindication which I had given him of my conduct and motives in publiſhing my Memorial. There is not even in his pamphlet the moſt diſtant alluſion to that intereſting correſpondence which we had in Auguſt 1800, ſoon after my Memorial was diſtributed, and in leſs than a fortnight after the taſk of anſwering it had been impoſed upon him by his younger brethren. In the beginning of his pamphlet, and indeed in the whole of it, from end to end, I am repreſented to the public as guilty of groſs miſrepreſentation of the character and conduct of the younger Surgeons, even after he had received from me the moſt complete refutation of that groundleſs charge. If he did not think my refutation of it in every reſpect complete and ſatisfactory, my letter, containing ſuch imperfect vindication of my own conduct, muſt have been to him an exquiſite ſubject for animadverſion and reproach. From his own ſilence with reſpect to it I may therefore infer, that he found it impoſſible to make that uſe of it. I may alſo infer, that his younger brethren, his clients, to whom, of courſe, it was his duty, without delay, to communicate my letter of vindication, could find no flaw in it; and conſequently I was obliged to think, that he and they were determined, right or wrong, to repreſent me to the public in that odious light, notwithſtanding

withſtanding the moſt explicit diſavowal of any ſuch unworthy purpoſe on my part, and the moſt complete refutation of ſuch a charge, in point of fact, that they themſelves could deſire or conceive. I may well call my vindication complete; for, on peruſing and conſidering it attentively, I am convinced, that, if I had gone but one ſtep farther, they would have conſidered it as irony and burleſque. Of the juſtneſs of this opinion every perſon may judge who ſhall take the trouble to read my letter to Mr John Bell, printed in this Memorial, (page 41. to page 74.). In one reſpect ſuch an ample vindication was plainly unneceſſary; for what one party of the Surgeons, Junior and Senior indiſcriminately, was pleaſed to call groſs miſrepreſentation of the character and conduct of the younger Surgeons, in the firſt place, was no miſrepreſentation at all, but a plain truth, ſo obvious to common ſenſe, that nothing leſs than actual experience of the fact could have made me believe that any individual, or any ſet of men, would preſume to call it in queſtion. In the ſecond place, Suppoſing it to be a miſrepreſentation, as groſs, as falſe, as injurious, as ever was contrived, it was plainly no miſrepreſentation of mine, but the work of their own predeceſſors, Deacon Kennedy and his accomplices. They, long before I was born, publicly and vehemently maintained, that Surgeons acquired great improvement by much practice, eſpecially by the frequent performance of operations; that all young Surgeons had great need of ſuch improvement, which they could get no where ſo well as in an Hoſpital; that a few Surgeons, ſelected from the reſt for Hoſpital-duty, would ſoon acquire ſuch high improvement and reputation, that they would engroſs the moſt lucrative practice in Surgery; and that to preſerve an equality among the Surgeons, it was neceſſary that all of them ſhould be allowed to attend and operate in the Hoſpital, indiſcriminately and by rotation. On the faith of this miſrepreſentation, if ſuch it be, that bargain between the Managers and Surgeons was made

which

which I reprobate, and have ſhewn to be unjuſt and cruel to the patients, and of little or no benefit to the Surgeons.

In the third place, Far from having expreſſed any unfavourable opinion of the younger Surgeons, I have, in many parts of my Memorial, expreſſed the very oppoſite ſentiments. I went ſo far as to give it as my opinion, that, if two or three of the younger Surgeons, or if the next who ſhould become Fellows of their College, were appointed permanently, or for a long period, Surgeons to the Infirmary, the practice of Surgery in it would ſoon be on a better footing than it has been for many years. In another paſſage of my former Memorial, I gave it as my opinion, that probably from the firſt, and certainly very ſoon, this ſelection of Surgeons for permanent attendance at the Hoſpital would be made from the younger Fellows of their College.

If I, or if any perſon, had ventured to ſay, that all the Junior Surgeons, even from the hour when they became Members of the College, were equal to the beſt of their Seniors in profeſſional ſkill, and manual dexterity as operators, it would have been regarded, not only as an extravagant falſehood, but as a malicious joke or ſarcaſm on their Senior Brethren: nor do I believe, that, till Mr John Bell's Anſwer appeared, ſuch a ſentiment had ever been announced to the world, either in jeſt or earneſt.

For theſe reaſons, while I admit the great rhetorical merit of ſuppreſſing my vindication of myſelf, I muſt be allowed to conſider it as the moſt uncandid proceeding I ever heard of. They cannot pretend that any conſiderations of delicacy towards me, whom it was the chief purpoſe of their Anſwer to revile and abuſe, as a monſter of wickedneſs, and equally an object of general contempt and abhorrence, or that any ſcruples about printing my private correſpondence with Mr John Bell, reſtrained him or his friends from making it the ſubject of their moſt public and ſevere animadverſion. The printing, as he has done, by way of Preface to

his

his Anſwer to me, the correſpondence which paſſed between him and his clients with reſpect to me and my Memorial, ſeemed to imply, in point of candour, that all papers and documents relating to that ſubject ſhould be made equally public. They ſurely would have regarded it as a ſtrange and uncandid proceeding on my part, if I had printed in this Memorial my letters to Mr John Bell, ſuppreſſing his letters to me, which contained his reaſons for appearing, contrary to his own deliberate opinion, and contrary even to his own declared reſolution, as the Champion and Advocate of that party of the Surgeons who have engaged in a conteſt with the Managers of the Infirmary. But further, I beg it may be obſerved, that, as ſoon as I knew that ſuch was his reſolution, I gave the moſt explicit permiſſion to him and his friends to uſe all manner of freedom with that letter of mine, juſt as much as with my printed paper. I had previouſly not only given him permiſſion, but begged of him to ſhow that letter to his friends and profeſſional brethren. Indeed I took it for granted, as a matter of courſe, that my letter of vindication, with his animadverſions on it, would make a conſpicuous figure in his Anſwer to my Memorial; and all I begged of him was, that he would abſtain from all remarks on grammatical or verbal inaccuracies, ſuch as words wanting, or twice written, or miſplaced; a kind of proteſt which I thought myſelf well intitled to enter. After all, I doubt not but Mr John Bell will contrive to juſtify himſelf, by ſhewing that he has only acted in ſtrict conformity to Horace's well-known maxim, *Et quæ deſperat tractata niteſcere poſſe relinquit.*

Whatever wrong Mr John Bell may have done me, by ſuppreſſing, on ſome occaſions, a great part of the truth, I am ſcarce entitled to complain of it, at leaſt not without doing him the juſtice to teſtify, that he has made ample compenſation for thoſe defects,

fects, by the moſt liberal additions to the truth on ſome other occaſions; by the diſcovery and enunciation of truths, particularly relating to myſelf, but perfectly unknown to me; and by the aſſertion of truths diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which I had formerly known, and which ſtill may be eſtabliſhed by incontrovertible evidence.

The moſt ſplendid example of this kind of rhetorical art, that I have ever met with, one far beyond the reach of any ordinary genius, and ſuch as the greateſt lawyers at the bar could not have attempted, nay hardly thought of, is to be found in the 44th page of his firſt ſection. There he does me the honour to mention me "as an author diſtinguiſhed in the literary and polemical world; "the *fifteenth* in a direct line of a Dynaſty of Profeſſors."

I know not how to expreſs my gratitude to Mr John Bell, for this long, learned, and illuſtrious pedigree, with which he has ſo liberally favoured me. This favour is the greater, that it is altogether ſurpriſing to me; no fewer than eleven of the fourteen of my direct lineal anceſtors, thus conjured into paſt exiſtence by his magic power, being utterly unknown to me; and, to the beſt of my information and belief, equally unknown to every perſon in the learned and in the unlearned world. They come however in excellent time to make a ſtem for my genealogical tree; a piece of furniture which, with ſhame and ſorrow I muſt own, I have never poſſeſſed. But before I can, with any propriety, make this uſe of my eleven new Great-grandfathers, I muſt beg of Mr John Bell to favour me with ſome authentic information of the countries and the Univerſities in which they were Profeſſors, and alſo of the ſeveral ſciences which they profeſſed. Perhaps he can prove, that the firſt ſeven or eight of them flouriſhed in Terra Auſtralis Incognita, and held Profeſſorſhips in the Univerſity of Utopia. That they were not all, eſpecially the firſt three or four of that long and learned dynaſty, Profeſſors of any ſcience, in any Univerſity in Scotland,

muſt be pretty evident from the following conſiderations. Fifteen generations, according to the well-known principles of chronology, which allow three generations to a century, extend to five hundred years; but five hundred, nay, even four hundred years ago, there was neither Profeſſor, nor Univerſity, nor Science, in Scotland.

If Mr John Bell's text had been given without any note or commentary, it might have paſſed for a flight of his original genius, ſimilar to thoſe which he has diſplayed in deſcanting on my perſon, character, and talents; and then his poſitive aſſertion of the marvellous number of my anceſtors who have been profeſſors, would have required no other notice, than his no leſs poſitive, and equally true aſſertions, that I was "born in Brobdignag, and "educated in Laputa; that, like the inhabitants of that land of "ſcience, I have one eye turned upwards to the heavens, while "the other looks inwards upon my own great mind; that I ſtep "over and over him and his brethren in all the pride of my gi-"gantic ſtature; and lift aſide the lappets of my coat to let them "paſs unhurt beneath the ſtride of my coloſſal limbs." But Mr John Bell's text, already quoted, is enriched and enforced by a moſt ample commentary, in the form of a marginal note; which, being of his own compoſition, muſt be regarded as of equal authority with his text itſelf. His note is in theſe words: "We "mention this on the *ſame* authority. He is the fifteenth here-"ditary profeſſor in a direct line; *every year* this is mentioned "*publicly at lecture*; and we think it right to allow the author "this apology for ſome very extravagant ſentiments concerning "his own importance."

Firſt, as to the firſt of theſe ſhort ſentences; "we mention this "on the *ſame* authority." The *ſame* authority muſt mean the authority laſt quoted; but the authority laſt quoted by him, only eight lines before the reference to this note, is my own Memorial: but

but ſurely nothing like his marvellous aſſertion about the number of my anceſtors who had been Profeſſors, or any alluſion to them, is to be found in that Memorial from end to end.

Next, as to the clauſe of the ſentence, "*every year* this is mentioned *publicly at lecture.*" This muſt be underſtood to mean, mentioned by *me*, in *my* lectures, publicly, every year. The purpoſe of ſuch an aſſertion cannot be miſtaken. Mr John Bell certainly wiſhed his own aſſertion to be believed; I mean with reſpect to my mentioning in my lectures every year that abſurd and extravagant falſehood: which certainly imports, that he wiſhed to repreſent me to the public both as a liar and an idiot. I doubt whether I ſhould ever have had an opportunity to utter ſuch a bounce even a ſecond time; and I am ſure I could have had no occaſion to repeat it every year in my lectures: for, unqueſtionably, if I had even once hazarded ſuch an aſſertion, my character muſt have been well eſtabliſhed in both reſpects; as a liar, for aſſerting ſeriouſly what I could not believe, and muſt have known to be falſe; as an idiot, for telling a lie which no body could believe. Notwithſtanding Mr John Bell's poſitive aſſertion in his text, and the conduct of his brethren and clients, in ſanctioning, by their vote of thanks, his publication, I can ſcarce ſuppoſe either him or them ſo ignorant of the principles of chronology, of the common duration of human life, and of the hiſtory of ſcience in their own country, as ever to have given credit to that marvellous account of my pedigree, if they had all heard me publicly aſſert it; which certainly neither they nor any other perſon ever did. But indeed his great anxiety to give *me* as the author of that ſtory, irreſiſtibly implies that he thought it falſe, but wiſhed to throw the infamy of it on me.

The attempt on his part is moſt honourable; and the approbation which it has met with from his brethren and clients is quite characteriſtic of their diſpoſition and talents. I highly approve of

what he and they have done, and moſt earneſtly exhort them all to continue their honeſt and diligent endeavours for the ſame laudable purpoſe. Far from taking amiſs their conduct, I ſhall be much gratified by it; and I can aſſure them, nay demonſtrate to them *a priori*, that they will not labour in vain. They may proceed with confidence on this irrefragable dilemma. Either I am, or I am not, that liar and idiot which they wiſh to repreſent me. If I am, it is very fit that I ſhould be made publicly known as ſuch; and they will have great credit for making me known. If I am not that liar and idiot which they wiſh to make me be thought, it is equally fit that *they* ſhould be made known to the public; and they will have, and will deſerve, ſtill greater credit with all mankind, for making themſelves thoroughly known; which they will ſoon and moſt effectually do, by a few more attempts of the ſame candid, liberal, ingenious, and ſpirited kind.

It would be great injuſtice to the unknown author of an excellent joke on me, and a very ſucceſsful impoſition on the public, not to mention here the ingenious device, of publiſhing in the Edinburgh newſpapers in April laſt, an advertiſement in my name, purporting to be the announcing of a book written by me on Scottiſh Law, and on the number of our Judges, &c. By this innocent and very witty forgery, he had the pleaſure of making it believed, for three days, not in Edinburgh only, but all over Scotland, that I had gone ſtark mad. Any book written by me on ſuch a ſubject would have been pretty good evidence of inſanity: but to make this point doubly ſure, there was ſubjoined to the title of my pretended work, a long paragraph, a kind of puff of my former Memorial and of myſelf, that was quite deciſive, both as to my inſanity, and the ſentiments of the author of the forgery. As it could not be properly contradicted till the next days of publiſhing the ſame newſpapers, the joke took ſo well in the

the diſtant parts of Scotland, that many commiſſions for copies of Gregory on Scotch Law came pouring in on Mr Creech from all quarters. If I am rightly informed, ſome of our Lawyers, and even of our Judges, were *taken in* by that forgery.

It is hard to ſay whether Mr John Bell's reference to my annual lectures, in proof of his marvellous aſſertion, or his reference to my former printed Memorial, be the greater effort of his peculiar genius: but I think the latter is the more meritorious of the two; foraſmuch as every perſon who could procure a ſight of that Memorial, and, in the firſt place, *all* his clients, to each of whom I had given a copy of it, could eaſily aſcertain that the reference was falſe; whereas the many hundreds, nay ſome thouſands, who have attended my Academical Lectures, could only teſtify *negatively*, that they never heard me utter that extravagant falſehood.

That all whom it concerns may have a juſt notion of Mr John Bell's merit in this ſpecimen of his rhetorical art, and perceive clearly what noble additions he has made to a few plain truths, I ſhall ſtate briefly what the facts are of which he has made ſuch admirable uſe.

It is a melancholy truth, that I, and my anceſtors for ſeveral generations, have lived each of us by his own individual wits: and what is worſe, I fear it muſt be the caſe with the family for ſeveral generations to come, if the race ſhall continue ſo long. Certainly not one of us yet has had brains enough to amaſs a fortune, for the benefit of his poſterity: which many of the dulleſt greaſy rogues, that ever ſold cheeſe or tallow, have accompliſhed with eaſe. I acknowledge that my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, as well as myſelf, have all been Profeſſors; and as my father's elder brother was a Profeſſor alſo, my dynaſty of Profeſſors, as Mr John Bell is pleaſed to call it, has been five in number. But I never dreamed of regaling my pupils with this very intereſting piece of my family hiſtory

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ſuch to my pupils, are the Bernouillis of Baſle, and the Gregorys of Scotland; the latter, as I told them, I could mention without any vanity, as I had no pretenſions to mathematical genius myſelf.

To complete the hiſtory of that collateral dynaſty, I muſt mention, that two of the three brothers had each a ſon, who became Profeſſors alſo; ſo that there were five Profeſſors Gregory of that dynaſty, as well as of mine. Moreover, two of their ſiſters had each a ſon, both of whom were Mathematicians and Profeſſors; for, however marvellous it may appear, it is a certain fact, that, time immemorial, in the Gregory family, the women's ſide of the houſe has been almoſt as ſure as the men's. The laſt of that dynaſty in the female line, was the late Dr Reid of Glaſgow; the other was the late Mr Profeſſor Innes of Mariſchal College, Aberdeen.

It is not eaſy to conceive how all the three brothers ſhould have been lineal anceſtors of mine; and it is certain that neither they, nor their ſons, nor their daughters were ſo; nor their father either. That very mathematical old gentleman was an elder brother of my great-grandfather. He was not even a Profeſſor, but bred a merchant; and as ſuch ſettled in Holland; when, by the death of his immediate elder brother, he ſucceeded to a ſmall eſtate in the north of Scotland, of which he took poſſeſſion, and commenced country gentleman. But, though no Profeſſor, he was a good Mathematician; and withal of ſuch indefatigable zeal and activity for the advancement of mathematical ſcience, that he actually took the trouble to beget, in lawful wedlock, nine and twenty children; who of courſe eat up his eſtate; but he lived to ſee three of them Profeſſors of Mathematics at the ſame time; one of them at Oxford, one at Edinburgh, and one at St Andrew's.

Of all theſe very edifying particulars, ſo intereſting to the public in general, and eſpecially to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary; as being eſſential to the deciſion of their queſtion with the Surgeons, and accordingly introduced into the diſcuſſion by Mr John Bell,

Bell, with his uſual bad luck in all matters of fact; the only one that ever I mentioned in my lectures, was the fact of the three brothers being Profeſſors of Mathematics, which I mentioned very briefly, for the purpoſe already explained. It appears to me as characteriſtic and deciſive of that curious principle which I wiſhed to illuſtrate, as the more ſplendid example of family-likeneſs that occurred in one of the nobleſt families in England. In the joyous reign of Charles the Second, that Noble Family was reduced to three males; and there was not one Noſe among them.

On no one point has Mr John Bell's bad luck, with reſpect to matters of fact, been worſe than on this of the dynaſty of fifteen Profeſſors in a direct line.

He certainly choſe his ground well; the general principle to which he truſted, *neganti incumbit probatio*, is irrefragably eſtabliſhed, in all ſuch candid diſcuſſions as his. In plain Engliſh, every man is to be held guilty of every thing infamous of which he is accuſed; and no man is entitled to be believed, or even heard in his own defence. Indeed, it is hardly worth a man's while to ſpeak in his own defence; for a negative in general cannot be proved. If Mr John Bell had contented himſelf with declaring to the Managers, and to the public, that I told my pupils every year, publicly, at lecture, that one of my Grandmothers was a Judge, and the other a General Officer, I muſt have acquieſced in the charge, for I could not have proved the negative of it. He might have choſen to impute to me, as the aſſertor of them, ten thouſand other extravagancies, equally incredible and diſgraceful, not one of which I could have diſproved. But, with his peculiar bad luck as to matters of fact, he has imputed to me an extravagant falſehood; of which I can prove the negative in the only way in which a negative can be proved; that is, by proving an affirmative, which is inconſiſtent with it. This is the nature and

force of the proof of an *alibi:* now in this caſe I can prove an *aliter.*

In an account of the life and writings of Dr John Gregory, my father, prefixed to the complete collection of his works, publiſhed here about fifteen years ago, thoſe curious circumſtances relating to the number of thoſe of his name and family, who have been Profeſſors, are mentioned, without any impropriety that I can ſee: but ſurely there would have been the moſt ridiculous impropriety in mentioning them in my academical lectures. That biographical account of my father was not written by me, but by a gentleman well known in the literary world, who now has a ſeat on the Bench in the Supreme Court of Juſtice in Scotland.

I however furniſhed the materials for it, and am no doubt anſwerable for the truth of the facts therein ſtated, to the beſt of my knowledge, information, and belief. The account of the dynaſties of Profeſſors, given in that life of my father, will be found perfectly conſiſtent with what I have here ſaid of them, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with Mr John Bell's marvellous ſtory; which if any perſon chooſes to believe, he muſt alſo believe, that I had deliberately given to my pupils, and to the public, the moſt complete means of detecting the groſs falſehood that I annually endeavoured to impoſe on them.

Such abſurdity and inconſiſtency appear to me almoſt as incredible, as that I ſhould have been found in two different places at once.

All this however is to be underſtood with a *ſalvo jure* to Mr John Bell and his clients. If he or they chooſe to ſtake their character in point of probity and veracity on the truth of his aſſertion, by them adopted and ſanctioned, as I ſtake mine on the contradiction of it, they are heartily welcome, or more than welcome. I ſhall conſider their doing ſo as one of the greateſt favours that they can confer on me. I beg likewiſe, that this offer

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on my part may be underſtood to extend to all Mr John Bell's facts, which have been the ſubject of animadverſion and contradiction in this Memorial, from page 113. to the end of it. To have made this offer ſooner, as in diſcuſſing Mr John Bell's facts, which are inconſiſtent with authentic record, would have been conſidered by him as only inviting him to kick againſt the pricks. To have made the ſame offer when I was commenting on his ſplendid negative aſſertions, that I never entered the Surgeons wards, or the operation-room of this Hoſpital; never ſaw Mr Wood operate, never ſaw John Hunter operate, never even ſaw an operation, would have been ſtill worſe: for ſuch negatives, even if they had been true, could not be proved. Nay, I ſcarce think, after the elapſe of thirty years or more, that the oppoſite affirmatives, which I know to be true, can be proved; to have invited Mr John Bell therefore to prove ſuch aſſertions, would not only have been nugatory, but would have had the appearance of ſome wiſh or deſign on my part to withdraw the attention of the managers and public from matters really ſerious or ſhameful on my part, by engaging it on ſubjects of no moment to me, or to any other body. But on the ſubject of the dynaſties, and Mr John Bell's aſſertion with reſpect to my account of them, neither of thoſe objections can be pretended. If what he has aſſerted in his note already quoted, be true, it is deciſive with reſpect to me: and he may eaſily find ſome hundreds, or ſome thouſands of witneſſes, to confirm it on oath. I hope, therefore, he will not think it unreaſonable in me to beg of him to produce, in confirmation of what he has aſſerted, the affidavits of two or three dozen only of my *quondam* pupils. It would be abſurd to ſay, that I wiſh there may be in the world even one ſuch perjured miſcreant; but if there be any ſuch, I heartily wiſh them to be known, and to meet with that general credit and eſtimation which they deſerve. He will alſo, I hope, have the goodneſs to mention, and to get

his witneſſes to teſtify on oath, how my pupils behaved when they heard me utter that abſurd falſehood. Did they content themſelves with getting up, and leaving me to read a *wall*-lecture, which certainly they ought to have done; or did they pull my gown off my ſhoulders, and toſs me in a blanket? which, if not ſtrictly proper, would have been almoſt excuſable, and not in the leaſt wonderful.——Whatever he and his clients may chooſe to think or to ſay of me, they cannot ſurely pretend, that *all* my pupils, nay, hardly that *any* of them, have *always* been ſuch fools as to believe that extravagant falſehood, if they had heard me utter it. If even one of them had had but common ſenſe, he muſt infallibly have in one day expoſed me to the contempt and reproach of every ſtudent at the Univerſity.

From my conſidering ſo minutely that brilliant ſpecimen of Mr John Bell's rhetorical talents, it may be judged that I think it of peculiar conſequence, and wiſh to make an important uſe of it. Moſt men of candour, probity, and good ſenſe, eſpecially if they are unacquainted with medical controverſies, and the great latitude as to all matters of fact aſſumed by thoſe who engage in them, will hardly believe that Mr John Bell, even acting in the capacity of an Advocate, ſhould aſſert, and that his clients, even acting as a party, ſhould adopt and ſanction what they could not believe, and muſt have known to be falſe. I conſider Mr John Bell's marginal note already analyzed as complete proof of that point, which it is of conſequence for me to eſtabliſh: but to remove all doubts and difficulties with reſpect to it, I ſhall examine another almoſt equally brilliant ſpecimen of the ſame mode of proceeding, in him, and in them. This is another marginal note of his, at the bottom of the 54th page of his firſt ſection. His words are theſe: " I was very early, ſays the Memorialiſt, admit-
" ted behind the curtain, and underſtood the myſtery, and was
" diverted with the young drones ſitting liſtening to the hum of
" the

" the old drones." I acknowledge having ſaid, in my former Memorial, that, from my earlieſt youth, I was admitted behind the curtain, and let into the ſecret of the medical drama; neither of which propoſitions, I am ſure, will ever be diſputed by any perſon who knows what my education has been. It is the latter part of Mr John Bell's note, which I conſider as a good ſpecimen of his genius, and well worthy of an ample commentary. He there exhibits me as repreſenting my honoured inſtructors, Dr Monro, Dr Cullen, Dr Black, Dr Home, and my own Father, as a parcel of old drones, and my fellow ſtudents as a parcel of young drones; implying probably that I was ſuch a drone myſelf.

The peculiar merit of that part of his note conſiſts in this, that not only I had never ſaid or inſinuated ſuch an abominable and diſgraceful falſehood, but that I had ſtrongly expreſſed, and fully illuſtrated, the directly oppoſite and well-known truth. From the uſe which he hath made of my particular expreſſions, young drones, and old drones, it is plain that he had read and remembered the following ſentence in my former Memorial, " Our ſtudents, " far from being a parcel of young drones, liſtening quietly to the " hum of a few old drones, which is too generally the caſe in other " Univerſities, are commonly as eager to learn as we are to teach " them." (*Mem. p.* 207.). It is impoſſible to conceive a more complete perverſion of my plain meaning than Mr John Bell has accompliſhed, and his clients have approved and ſanctioned. They cannot, therefore, think I do them any injuſtice when I ſuppoſe them to have acted in the ſame manner on many other points, on which his miſrepreſentation appears only from the general tenor of his diſcourſe, but cannot be ſhewn ſo briefly and clearly by his falſification of one ſhort ſentence. And I think every intelligent and candid reader muſt, from theſe few ſamples, perceive the neceſſity of at leaſt ſuſpending his belief of every important fact, however confidently aſſerted by him, and ſanctioned by the public approbation

approbation of his clients, till ſuch time as he or they give ſome evidence of ſuch valuable, and generally ſuch marvellous facts.

Before I diſmiſs that firſt ſection of his Anſwer to me, I muſt take notice of Mr John Bell's heroic undertaking, to vindicate Dr Cullen from having acknowledged to my father, that he thought "*there muſt be a tub to amuſe the whale*;" and from having actually endeavoured to amuſe the whale in that way himſelf.

When Mr John Bell engaged in this perilous and fruitleſs adventure, he muſt ſurely have forgotten Pope's well-known couplet,

One from all Grub-ſtreet will my fame defend,
And, more abuſive, calls himſelf my friend.

Non tali auxilio nec defenſoribus iſtis tempus eget. Dr Cullen's character and talents need no vindication by Mr John Bell; and I have no occaſion to offer any arguments to prove in what high eſtimation I have always held him and his writings.

For ſix and twenty years that I have taught as a Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Edinburgh, firſt of the Theory, then of the Practice of Phyſic; and in conducting twenty Courſes of Lectures as Clinical Profeſſor, I have always availed myſelf of his writings, and of his verbal inſtructions; and have recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms, his valuable works to the attentive peruſal of all my pupils. This I conceive to be the moſt unequivocal proof of my opinion of his merits: far more honourable to him, as well as to myſelf, and much better for my pupils, than any profeſſion of blind admiration for him and his doctrines; or any reſolution never to diſſent from him, on any point, either of theory or practice.

I take the liberty, as it is my duty, occaſionally to differ from him, both in practice and theory; as he did from the many eminent medical authors who preceded him, and of whoſe valuable works

works he endeavoured to make the beſt uſe; and as I expect and wiſh that all my pupils ſhall do with reſpect to me, as the ſcience and practice of medicine gradually improve.

" A tub to amuſe the whale! Could Cullen indeed ſay this, Cullen, " the proud and jealous author of a doctrine which hath enſlaved " the Medical world, could he declare that doctrine to be a cheat? it " is not to be believed," &c. &c. " Vanity muſt have reſtrained " him, if no better ſentiment dwelt in his mind." (*Anſ.* § 1. *p.* 52.) This is indeed ſetting about the buſineſs like a man of genius: to begin the vindication of Dr Cullen by pronouncing him proud and jealous for certain, and poſſibly vain alſo. I lived in intimacy with Dr Cullen for many years, and knew him well; yet never ſaw in him any ſymptoms of pride or jealouſy. As he was a man of ſenſe, not to ſay of ſuperior talents, I cannot think he was proud: for pride is characteriſtic of folly. Nor can I conceive of what, or of whom, he was jealous: certainly not as the author of that doctrine which Mr John Bell ſays hath enſlaved the medical world; for he was no more the author of that doctrine than Mr John Bell is. *Frederick Hoffman* was the author of that doctrine, as Mr John Bell ought to have known, and muſt have known, if he had ever looked into the writings of Hoffman, or had even read Dr Cullen's own preface to his Firſt Lines of the Practice of Phyſic. If Dr Cullen had taught that doctrine as originally his own, he muſt have been regarded, in the firſt place, by his own pupils, and in the next place, by the whole medical world, as the vileſt mountebank that ever appeared on any ſtage; for at the time he was brought from Glaſgow to Edinburgh, as Profeſſor of Medicine and Chemiſtry in 1756, and for many years before, that doctrine, as delivered in the writings of *Hoffman*, had been adopted by the ſtudents of phyſic in this Univerſity, even though their Profeſſors were endeavouring to teach them the doctrine of *Boerhaave*; whoſe pupils they had all been, and whoſe

zealous

zealous admirers they continued to be; as was the caſe with all his pupils. That fact, of the early adoption of Hoffman's doctrine by the ſtudents of phyſic in this Univerſity, I mention on the authority of my father; who, in the years 1743, 4, and 5, was a ſtudent of phyſic, and a member of the Medical Society, in this Univerſity.

Dr Cullen, I believe, when he taught phyſic at Glaſgow, had adopted the ſyſtem of *Hoffman*; and continued to teach it after he came to the Univerſity of Edinburgh: which contributed greatly to procure him the confidence, eſteem, and admiration of the ſtudents, and in due time the well-known familiar appellation of *Old Spaſm*; which, however ludicrous it may appear, never implied on their part any diſreſpect to him; but on the contrary the greateſt regard and affection. He always taught *Hoffman's* doctrine, like a man of ſenſe and candour, acknowledging, in the moſt explicit terms, who was the author of it, and doing juſtice to his great and original genius, his profound medical erudition, and the advantages which he had poſſeſſed by his long and extenſive practice; but not ſervilely adopting and inculcating every ſentence of *Hoffman's* doctrine; on the contrary, propoſing occaſionally ſuch corrections and improvements as he thought it required. Dr Cullen's preface to his Firſt Lines is the moſt complete and authentic document on this point that can be deſired or conceived: in it he not only mentions, in general, the ſyſtem of *Hoffman*, as what he moſt approved and had adopted; but gives (page 19, to 22, edit. 1784) a long quotation, much too long to quote here, for it extends to more than two pages, containing, in *Hoffman's* own words, the ſum and ſubſtance of his Theory, and his Principles of Practice in Phyſic.

The whole of Dr Cullen's Theory and Practice of Phyſic, as contained in his Firſt Lines, may be regarded as a kind of commentary on that paſſage of *Hoffman*; and, in this view, it is as ſtrict and faithful as Galen's Commentary on the Aphoriſms of Hippocrates.

Hippocrates. It was impoſſible for any man to have acted more candidly and honourably than Dr Cullen did in this reſpect; all the merit of which Mr John Bell, by a few words of his magic pen, would do away, and ſubſtitute for it the ſhameful demerit of the very oppoſite conduct.

But it is evident, that Mr John Bell's chief object, in his maſterly vindication of Dr Cullen, from the charge of ſometimes throwing out a tub to amuſe the whale, was to have an opportunity of expreſſing his diſtruſt either of my veracity, or of my father's, or of both. Conſidering how much better his means of knowledge muſt be, than either I or my father could have, of what paſſed in the moſt private converſation between Dr Cullen and my father, and between my father and me, more than thirty years ago; conſidering alſo how many illuſtrious examples we have already ſeen, of his accuracy and fidelity with reſpect to all matters of fact; it would be equally unneceſſary and unavailing to diſpute that point with him. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with giving him the ſequel of that ſtory, which, I hope, will afford him ſome good materials for his next Philippic.

The ſubject of my father's friendly hint to Dr Cullen, which produced his ludicrous avowal of the expediency of throwing out a tub to amuſe the whale, was the *Nervous Syſtem;* on which Dr Cullen uſed to deſcant, at great length, and with much vivacity and ingenuity, when he taught the Theory of Phyſic. To the beſt of my remembrance, he ſometimes employed about two thirds of his courſe, that is eighty lectures out of one hundred and twenty, on the Nervous Syſtem; illuſtrating very fully, and in a moſt entertaining manner, many hypothetical theories, about the nature and properties of a ſuppoſed nervous fluid or æther; the exiſtence of which ſtill remains to be proved. He even amuſed himſelf and his pupils, by adopting and inculcating ſome ingenious opinions, never yet eſtabliſhed by any competent evidence, concerning the

operations of the brain and nerves, and their ſuppoſed fluid, in various functions of the body, as, for example, in the ſecretion, preparation, conveyance, and application of nouriſhment to every part of the body. (*See Dr Cullen's Inſtitutions of Medicine, Part I. Phyſiology, parag.* 293, 294. *edit.* 1777.) Many of theſe opinions may be found ſtated in his own words in that little book, which was his text-book when he taught the Theory of Phyſic; and not only the opinions, but his mode of illuſtrating them, may be found in ſeveral of the Theſes publiſhed in this Univerſity between the years 1766 and 1774.

Many of theſe opinions were tacitly, and others more than tacitly, given up by Dr Cullen himſelf, both in his lectures and in his printed text-book, his Firſt Lines, when he taught the Practice of Phyſic. To the beſt of my remembrance, in the laſt fourteen years of his life, I never heard one word from him about vibrations or vibratiuncles in the nervous æther; or any thing about the nouriſhment being ſecreted from the blood by the brain, and conveyed from the brain by the nerves to every part of the body. Indeed this laſt opinion, however ingeniouſly illuſtrated, was abſolutely untenable, as there was not only no evidence *for* it, but complete and deciſive evidence *againſt* it.

Nor was even that opinion new, or peculiar to Dr Cullen: for it had been maintained by many ingenious, but fanciful theoriſts in phyſic, before his time. Of this every perſon intereſted in the queſtion may be convinced at once, by conſulting Dr Monro's great folio volume on the Nervous Syſtem, (page 77. to 87.) There they will find a brief enumeration of the deciſive arguments which refute the opinion in queſtion; and alſo an enumeration of no fewer than ten Medical Authors, prior to Dr Cullen, who had maintained that opinion. The name of Dr Cullen was ſuppreſſed in that enumeration, in which it ought naturally to have come the laſt, not from any diſreſpect to him, but, to my certain

certain knowledge, purely from conſiderations of reſpect and delicacy.

To ſuch diſcuſſions and ſpeculations, I conceive, that Dr Cullen alluded, by the metaphorical expreſſion of a tub to amuſe the whale. Whatever Mr John Bell may think of him, I think too highly of him, both in point of underſtanding and knowledge, to ſuppoſe that he could believe in doctrines, not only unſupported by evidence, but directly repugnant to it; or that he could ſuppoſe ſuch fanciful theories of any importance, or any application to practice. His anſwer to my father, I believe, put an end to that converſation; and precluded all further attempts, on my father's part, to remonſtrate with him on any doctrines that he might chooſe to teach: and I believe Dr Cullen took in good part that friendly hint, which my father gave him.

But a year or two afterwards an event occurred, relating to the ſame ſubject, which made Dr Cullen very angry, and gave my father ſome uneaſineſs.

In the *firſt* edition of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia Britannica, which, to the beſt of my remembrance, was publiſhed here in numbers, between thirty and five and thirty years ago, the article *Æther* made a conſpicuous figure. In that article, the doctrine of the Nervous Æther, and the whole of Dr Cullen's doctrine of the Nervous Syſtem, were very roughly handled. This, without ever mentioning Dr Cullen's name, or alluding to him as the author or aſſertor of ſuch doctrines, was done under pretence of diſcuſſing a certain Theſis, publiſhed in this Univerſity in 1768, on the cauſe of Animal Heat. In that Theſis (Guſtavus Richard Brown's of Maryland, *De Ortu Animalium Caloris*) the production of animal heat, and many other curious things, are referred to the ſuppoſed Nervous Æther and its vibrations. It was well known to every Student of Phyſic at the Univerſity at that time, and indeed it is avowed by Dr Brown in the whole of his Theſis, from the motto on his title-page to the concluding ſentence of his diſſertation, (which ſentence is quoted

in my former Memorial, page 210.), that it was the Theory on thoſe ſubjects taught by Dr Cullen. It was one of his tubs to amuſe the whale: and after it had ſerved its purpoſe for ſome time, and was a little ſhattered in the ſervice, he very wiſely withdrew it, and threw out another and another, ſo as to keep the whale effectually amuſed, and always playing about him. But as he had not forgotten my father's hint on the ſubject, as ſoon as the ſevere diſcuſſion of the Nervous Æther appeared in the Encyclopædia, he immediately ſuppoſed that it was written by my father. So fully poſſeſſed was he with this notion, that he mentioned it without much reſerve to ſome of his pupils, ſome of whom reported it to my father. I have heard that he mentioned his belief on that point to ſeveral other perſons: I know he did ſo to Mr Creech, the bookſeller. Nay, as I have lately learned from the preſent Mr Smellie printer, Dr Cullen, in converſation with his father, the late Mr William Smellie, one of the *Authors*, not the printer, of that edition of the Encyclopædia, told him that he was *ſure* that my father had written that article, and that he knew his ſtyle.

This muſt have afforded much amuſement to Mr Smellie, who was himſelf the author of that article; as my father ſoon learned from Mr Smellie: for he was ſo much piqued at Dr Cullen's unjuſt and ungenerous ſuſpicion, that he ſpared no pains to diſcover the real author of that well written but ſevere article, which had given ſuch offence, and been ſo raſhly imputed to him. Mr Smellie, for good reaſons, did not chooſe to be generally known as the author of it at that time; but I know that in the courſe of ſome years afterwards, Dr Cullen found him out, and was very angry at him accordingly. That diſcovery of Mr Smellie being the author of it, I have always underſtood, gave occaſion to the complete alteration and ſoftening of the article *Æther* in the ſecond and all the ſubſequent editions of the Encyclopædia; ſo that nothing of it was allowed to remain that could give offence to Dr Cullen.

Mr

Mr John Bell deſerves no ſmall credit for his happy diſcovery, that Dr Cullen's ludicrous expreſſion to my father was an acknowledgment, that the doctrine which he taught was all a cheat, and that I meant, by telling that ſtory, to convey ſuch a meaning, ſo inconſiſtent with truth, and ſo unworthy of Dr Cullen. His meaning plainly was, that while he endeavoured to inſtruct his pupils in the well eſtabliſhed and uſeful facts and principles of phyſic, which are often dry and tedious, ſometimes even diſguſting, it was neceſſary to beguile and animate them on their weary way, by amuſing them with more pleaſing proſpects, and engaging them in purſuits, which, by rouſing them to active exertions, might quicken their progreſs in their toilſome journey; even while they ſeemed to withdraw them fartheſt from the common beaten track. If Dr Cullen erred in this notion, his error at leaſt was not new in the world; and he might well have juſtified it by very high and ancient authority.

Id quoque enim non ab nulla ratione videtur,
Sed veluti pueris abſinthia tetra medentes
Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
Ut puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
Labrorum tenus; interea perpotet amarum
Abſinthi laticem, deceptaque non capiatur,
Sed potius tali facto recreata valeſcat.

If Mr John Bell and his clients ſhall not underſtand, or ſhall reject the authority of ſuch a Heatheniſh writer as Lucretius, they muſt at leaſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand, that there is nothing contrary either to Law or Goſpel, in gilding a pill, or ſweetening a nauſeous draught; though neither the gold that covers the pill, nor the ſyrup that ſweetens the draught, add any thing to the virtues

virtues of the medicines which they contain. But the beſt proof of the juſtneſs of Dr Cullen's principle, and of his ſkill and ſucceſs in applying it to practice, is the very high reputation which he ſoon acquired, and the number of his pupils who have riſen to eminence in their profeſſion, and who have contributed, by their active exertions, both to improve the practice of our art, and to extend the limits of our ſcience.

Every Phyſician of ſound unbiaſſed judgment, who is acquainted with the writings of Dr Cullen, muſt perceive and acknowledge, that his chief merit was not as a Theoriſt in Phyſic. He was indeed admirably acute and ingenious in detecting and expoſing the errors and imperfections of the theories of other ſyſtematic Phyſicians; but he was not equally ſucceſsful in eſtabliſhing many of thoſe theories, which he either formed for himſelf, or adopted from the great authors who had preceded him. The reaſon of his bad ſucceſs in that reſpect is abundantly obvious; he was not ſufficiently cautious as to the general facts or principles that he aſſumed, and too readily admitted, as his great predeceſſors had done, many vague and general hypotheſes or conjectures, which neither are nor ever can be proved.

But in truth, the explaining and illuſtrating, or eſtabliſhing, if they could be eſtabliſhed, ſuch ſpeculations and conjectures, is but a ſmall part, and certainly the leaſt important part, of the duty of a Profeſſor of the Theory and Practice of Phyſic. Numberleſs intereſting facts, with reſpect to the functions of the human body in health, with reſpect to the nature of diſeaſes, and the mode of operation of remedies, are as well known as the circulation of the blood, and ought to be carefully diſtinguiſhed from all ſuch ſpeculations and conjectures as are ſtill ſubjects of doubt and diſpute. Thoſe certain and important facts it is the duty of the Profeſſor to communicate to his pupils, and to ſhew the uſe and application of them, in explaining the ſymptoms, and in directing, as well as explaining,

explaining, the practice in various diſeaſes. Facts ſo numerous and ſo various can ſcarce be communicated, or, if communicated, can ſcarce be remembered, and applied, where they are moſt wanted, without the help of ſome connecting medium, by which they are linked together and arranged. This is one great uſe of what is called Theory in Phyſic; that is, Hypothetical Theory. A true and well eſtabliſhed theory, like that of gravitation in natural philoſophy, would anſwer this important purpoſe infinitely better than theories altogether erroneous and fanciful. But few, even of the worſt and moſt viſionary of our medical theories, have been ſo bad, as not in ſome meaſure to ſerve the purpoſe of connecting and arranging many intereſting facts. On this principle, I have long been convinced, that, not only in teaching and learning, but even in practiſing phyſic, a bad theory is better than none, provided only a Phyſician be not too ſtrongly or blindly attached to it. It is of real importance to him, not only to have ſome principle to direct his practice, or ſome reaſon, good or bad, for what he does; but alſo to have in view ſome principle by which to arrange and remember his obſervations; ſomething which he wiſhes either to eſtabliſh or to refute. This will make his obſervations more accurate, as well as more uſeful, than otherwiſe they could be made by any effort of induſtry or genius.

Whatever may be thought of the juſtneſs of this opinion, at leaſt it is not one aſſumed and profeſſed, to ſerve a particular purpoſe on the preſent occaſion. Any perſon whoſe curioſity ſhall lead him to look into my *Conſpectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ*, publiſhed more than twenty years ago, will find the ſame opinion ſtrongly expreſſed in the following words:

Præterea, non minima variarum quas Theoriæ Medicæ ſcriptores habuerunt opinionum utilitas fuit, res quas obſervando aut experiendo didiciſſent, et cum aliis communicare cuperent, quodammodo ordinare et in formam reducere, quæ aliter ſparſæ, et confuſæ, nulloque vinculo inter ſe

ſe connexæ, neque memoria retineri potuiſſent, neque ad arbitrium revocari aut ſeligi. Laxo vero et fragili vinculo uti præſtabat quam nullo.

All this, however, about Medical Theories, and tubs to amuſe the whale, like every thing elſe in this Memorial, is to be underſtood always with a *ſalvo jure* to Mr John Bell and his clients. If he, or they, or any of them, think they can eſtabliſh as truths the various hypothetical opinions or theories with which Dr Cullen, in teaching firſt the Theory and afterwards the Practice of Phyſic, uſed to amuſe his pupils, they are heartily welcome to ſet about it with all their might, *manibus pedibuſque.* In his little book on the Inſtitutions of Medicine, already quoted, nay even in that part of it which treats of the Nervous Syſtem, they will find more than enough to keep them buſy for twice ſeven years to come; and, if they ſucceed in that great work, of which I can have no doubt, conſidering their talents, and the peculiar facility with which they diſcover nümberleſs facts, that no other body ever dreamed of, and if I am alive at the end of that period, I ſhall point out to them, by way of another taſk, ten or a dozen paragraphs of Dr Cullen's Firſt Lines of the Practice of Phyſic, to be by them eſtabliſhed as matters of certain ſcience: which I think will afford them abundant employment all their days, if they do not, one with another, live more than a hundred years.

In the mean time, and till I find ſome books better for my purpoſe, I ſhall beg leave to uſe, for the inſtruction of my pupils, Dr Cullen's Works, purely on account of the many valuable, well eſtabliſhed, and well arranged facts, which they contain, with reſpect to the ſymptoms, the cauſes, and the cure of diſeaſes; though I diſtruſt his theories with reſpect to the manner in which thoſe ſymptoms are produced, and the mode of operation of ſome of the remedies which he recommends. Thoſe theories I conſider as a kind of Apocrypha, allowed to remain between the Canonical books of the Old and thoſe of the New Teſtament; which Apocrypha

crypha every ſtudent is well entitled to believe or to reject, according to the meaſure of his own underſtanding and faith. He may be an equally good Phyſician whether he believe it or not.

Relating to this, there is a curious alluſion in Mr John Bell's Pamphlet, (Section 1. page 54.). " To know his (Dr Cullen's) " Theories, to repeat his Definitions, to profeſs to be the admirer " and defender of Cullen, has always been in this Univerſity the " *ſole* and *ſure* paſſport to Medical honours. Nor has this regimen " and academic diſcipline relaxed of late years; to theſe dogmas, true " or untrue, is every young man obliged to yield aſſent, " mouth, " honour, breath, which the poor heart would fain deny, but " dare not." In what light muſt this forced obedience appear, " now, when the doctrine is declared to be a tale! a very cheat?"

This is another illuſtrious ſpecimen of Mr John Bell's ſuperior genius, and of his cruel bad luck with reſpect to all matters of fact. It is indeed wonderful how he could ever think of ſuch facts as theſe; the direct contrary of which might have been known, and almoſt demonſtrated *a priori*; and has been amply experienced by many hundreds, and repeatedly publiſhed to the world. He and all his clients might have known, for it never was a ſecret, that in more than three and thirty years, that Dr Cullen taught as a Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Edinburgh, there never was a time when *all* his Colleagues, Profeſſors of Phyſic, or even the majority of them, taught, or admitted, thoſe peculiar hypothetical theories of which he was the fondeſt; whether originally his own, or adopted by him from *Hoffman*, *Stahl*, and others, is of no moment at preſent. To the beſt of my knowledge and belief, there never was a time when even *one* of his Colleagues admitted thoſe theories; nor do I believe they ever were admitted by the other Phyſicians, Fellows of the Royal College in this City, who had not been his pupils, or by any great number of Phyſicians, if by any, in the three kingdoms, who were his ſeniors

or cotemporaries, and not his pupils. And I had good occaſion to obſerve, between fourteen and nine and twenty years ago, that in London his doctrine, which Mr John Bell ſays had enſlaved the Medical world, was treated with great contempt.

To me it appears incredible and abſurd, if not literally impoſſible, that his Colleagues, four or five in number, ſhould have concurred in impoſing *forcibly* on their pupils, a faith, or profeſſion of faith in Medical opinions, which they themſelves neither entertained nor profeſſed. Suppoſing them to have had but common ſenſe, and any, the ſmalleſt, notion of what ſcience is, which may fairly be preſumed of them all, till we have evidence of the contrary, it cannot be believed that they would exact from their pupils ſuch profeſſions of belief, even in thoſe opinions which they themſelves thought moſt probable.

They ſurely muſt have known the infinite difference between opinions, however plauſible, and matters of ſcience, fairly aſcertained, by obſervation and experiment, and ſtrict induction from theſe.

In point of fact I may ſtate with confidence, that in the courſe of ſix and twenty years, I have aſſiſted at more than a thouſand examinations of Students, who were candidates for the degree of Doctor of Phyſic in this Univerſity, and that I never ſaw nor heard of any ſuch irrational, illiberal conduct on the part of the Profeſſors who examined them.

Our examinations do not turn on points of opinion, or theory, or controverſy; and when, incidentally, any queſtions are put relating to ſuch points, it has always been underſtood among us, that a Student was entitled to judge and chooſe for himſelf. We are always pleaſed when a Student ſhows by his anſwers, as many of them do perfectly well, that he is acquainted with the different opinions that have prevailed on ſuch points; and with the arguments that have been urged for and againſt them reſpectively. If

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any Student choſe to adopt the hypothetical opinions of Dr Cullen, we had no right, and could have no inclination, to judge unfavourably of him on that account.

If a Student, when deſired to deſcribe the principal and diſtinguiſhing ſymptoms of a diſeaſe, anſwer us in the words of Dr Cullen, by giving us the definition of the diſeaſe as ſtated by him in his Methodical Noſology, we have good reaſon to be well ſatisfied with his anſwer: but we are ſtill better ſatisfied, when a Student deſcribes a diſeaſe by enumerating its diſtinguiſhing ſymptoms in his own words, though perhaps leſs accurate and ſcientific than thoſe of Dr Cullen. In either caſe, we muſt preſume that ſuch a Student has learned enough to know ſuch a diſeaſe when he meets with it, and to diſtinguiſh it from all others. This is the chief uſe of Methodical Noſology and its definitions. Whenever we find a Student repeating fluently and accurately the words of ſuch definitions, and yet heſitating in his anſwers to other queſtions, we are apt to ſuſpect that he has got the definitions by rote, as part of his *catechiſm*, perhaps without underſtanding them: and we take care to aſcertain that point, by a little croſs queſtioning; juſt as when we find a Student giving an imperfect definition or deſcription of a diſeaſe, we diſcover, by putting further queſtions to him, whether he really knows all the important ſymptoms of that diſeaſe or not.

I think it probable that ſome Students have obtained the degree of Doctor of Phyſic in this Univerſity during Dr Cullen's incumbency, without ever attending his lectures, or knowing his doctrines, as I know that ſome have done without ever attending mine. At any rate, there was nothing to hinder them to do ſo; for our laws, which are made as generally known as poſſible, do not require of our Students that, in order to be admitted to examination for the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, they ſhall attend the lectures of *every* Profeſſor of Phyſic in *this* Univerſity, but only, that

they ſhall attend the lectures of Profeſſors on the ſeveral branches of Phyſic, in this or ſome other Univerſity.

It was the object of the Profeſſors of Phyſic, and of the Senatus Academicus of this Univerſity, in framing thoſe laws, to act in the moſt liberal manner, by putting attendance on the lectures of Profeſſors, or teachers by public authority, in other Univerſities, on the ſame footing with attendance on their own lectures.

Laſtly, In direct oppoſition to Mr John Bell's moſt ſplendid fact, there are extant many inaugural diſſertations, publiſhed in this Univerſity during the laſt twenty years of Dr Cullen's incumbency, that contain the ſtrongeſt poſſible aſſertions of doctrines very different from his, and many ſevere ſtrictures on the doctrines which he taught. It would be indelicate, or ſomething worſe, perhaps ſeriouſly injurious, to the authors of thoſe diſſertations, were I, in ſuch a Memorial as this, to mention their names, and quote particular paſſages from their diſſertations, in proof and illuſtration of what I have here ſtated; for I know that ſome, and ſtrongly ſuſpect that many of them, have lived long enough to perceive the errors of many doctrines which they had at one time moſt confidently aſſerted, and even to be aſhamed of what they had written. But every perſon, who has any curioſity on the ſubject, may ſatisfy it at once, by looking into ſome of the many Theſes publiſhed in this Univerſity between the years 1778 and 1790, and containing either quotations from *Brunonis Elementa*, or marginal references to that work. Mr John Bell's felicity, in his mode of vindicating Dr Cullen, and in the many new and marvellous facts which he has diſcovered for that purpoſe, is indeed moſt admirable. Let us ſuppoſe for once, what it is *impoſſible* to believe, that Dr Cullen wiſhed to enforce the admiſſion, and profeſſed belief, of all his doctrines, among his pupils, by thoſe arbitrary proceedings, and that kind of perſecution which Mr John Bell has ſtated in the paragraph juſt now quoted from his Pamphlet;

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let us ſuppoſe farther, that all his colleagues had the folly and turpitude to concur with him in thoſe unworthy meaſures; let us conſider what the neceſſary conſequence *muſt* have been, both with reſpect to himſelf and his pupils. Such conduct on his part, and the motives of it, muſt have become ſoon and generally known, and muſt have rendered him infamous. With reſpect to his pupils, far from making them converts to his doctrine, and eager aſſertors of it, it muſt have made them its greateſt oppoſers; and Dr Cullen, inſtead of being the favourite and idol of his pupils, muſt have been the object of their contempt and abhorrence. Such, unqueſtionably, is human nature; at leaſt in all who feel the liberal ſpirit of truth and candour, and follow with enthuſiaſm the purſuits of ſcience, ever jealous and impatient of authority, and indignant at the thought of reſtraint or oppreſſion.

From Mr John Bell's pretended vindication of Dr Cullen, which ſeems to have been intended ſeriouſly, not as a piece of ſarcaſm and irony, and from the approbation that it has met with from his friends and clients, it appears indiſputably, that there are men, and theſe too profeſſing great regard to ſcience, to virtue, to liberality of ſentiment and conduct, who would not have been ſhocked or diſguſted by ſuch illiberal conduct in Dr Cullen, and in ſpite of it, would have regarded him as well entitled to the eſteem and admiration of mankind. If each of them had put a clear window in his breaſt, he could not have ſhown us more plainly his own ſentiments, his own character, and his own notions of ſcience.

The whole of that vindication is ſo complete and original, and characteriſtic of its author, that it is needleſs to diſcuſs it more fully: but as an explanation of what I have hinted, that it was *impoſſible* to believe ſuch things of Dr Cullen, I muſt mention what Mr John Bell and his clients ſeem totally to have overlooked, that Dr Cullen ſtated *all* his hypothetical theories with great modeſty, and many expreſ-

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ſions of doubt and diffidence, and many ſtrong acknowledgments of their imperfections. If Mr John Bell and his clients had read his works with attention, they muſt have perceived this, and have been ſtruck with it: and if they had read the writings of any other ſyſtematic Phyſician or Theoriſt, from Galen to Boerhaave inclu-ſive, they muſt have ſeen, that thoſe ſyſtematic authors were not equally cautious and modeſt, but generally inculcated their doc-trines with perfect confidence, as well-eſtabliſhed truths, and ſometimes maintained them with moſt dogmatical arrogance and inſolence; juſt as ſome modern writers in Phyſic and Surgery aſſert their own dogmas, and revile their opponents. That can-dour and modeſty which Dr Cullen diſplayed in his ſyſtematical writings, both with reſpect to the ſufficiency of his theories, and the efficacy of the medicines and practice that he recommended, was an excellent leſſon to his pupils, and certainly contributed much to recommend both himſelf and his doctrines to them: but it evidently precluded, and rendered *impoſſible*, even if he had been diſpoſed to try it, which I am ſure was not the caſe, any attempt to cram his doctrine down their throats. Mr John Bell and all his clients muſt be deplorably ignorant of human nature, if they do not know that man is the moſt perverſe of all animals; and they muſt be ignorant even of the common principles of animal nature, if they do not know what effect ſuch tyranny has on the moſt gentle and docile of quadrupeds, and withal the moſt affection-ately attached to his maſter. A dog, who is paſſionately fond of his bone, and will fight ſtoutly for it, when allowed to chooſe and pick it for himſelf, as ſoon as it is tied faſt to his tail, hates it, and the perſon who tied it, worſe than poiſon; and barks, and howls, and runs away as if the devil were at his heels.

It is delightful to obſerve how Mr John Bell's ſtyle riſes with his ſubject, and how his warmth increaſes with its warmth. His animadverſions on what I have ſaid of the prevalence of profeſſional diſputes and party-ſpirit in that Royal College which has the honour to boaſt of him as a Fellow, diſplay a degree of eloquence and fire, worthy of that Society, and that cauſe which he defends, and far ſuperior to any thing contained in the preceding part of his Pamphlet. To quote here the whole of thoſe animadverſions, though delightful, would be ſomewhat ſuperfluous, as a ſmall ſample may well ſuffice. " You are now, for the firſt time, " informed, that there are two parties among the Surgeons in this " city. Why are you told this? Is it your concern? Parties in " philoſophy, in politics, in profeſſions, in religion, and alſo in " morals, are not diſavowed; but in the univerſal ſentiment of " philanthropy and charity, in that feeling without which a man is " degraded from his nature! who before your Memorialiſt, has " dared to ſay, that there are parties?

" Who but your Memorialiſt would dare to ſay, that a Surgeon, " if any diſaſtrous event ſhould befal him, requiring ſurgical " aſſiſtance and a capital operation, would (if he were forced to " receive that aſſiſtance from ſome of his profeſſional brethren) " give himſelf up for loſt?" (*Anſwer*, *Sect.* 3. *p.* 9.)

Firſt, As to the latter part of this ſplendid paſſage, I need only ſay, that I have heard of one remarkable inſtance of a Surgeon, a Fellow of the Royal College of this city, actually performing on himſelf a pretty ſevere operation; which implied, that he either could not, or would not, truſt any of his profeſſional brethren to do it. And I have heard ſome Members of that Royal College ſpeak of ſeveral, even of the moſt eminent of their brethren, in ſuch bitter terms of contempt and reproach, for their ignorance, unſkilfulneſs, and negligence, that I am ſure they would not have truſted their own perſons in ſuch unworthy and dangerous hands.

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But I never ſaid nor thought generally, that a Surgeon, in the ſenſe of every Surgeon in Edinburgh, would give himſelf up for loſt, if he were forced to receive profeſſional aſſiſtance from any one of his brethren; which is the meaning that Mr John Bell's words convey. But that being a matter of fact, his uſual bad luck attended him in ſtating it, even though he had it in his power to tranſcribe my very words.

Further, From the opinions which ſome Surgeons have expreſſed openly, either by word of mouth, or by writing, or both ways; and the diſapprobation, not to ſay contempt and reproach, that they have expreſſed for the mode of proceeding of ſome of their brethren in various parts of chirurgical practice, it is impoſſible to doubt that they would think themſelves expoſed to peculiar danger, if they were obliged to receive chirurgical aſſiſtance from ſuch men. But to cut that matter ſhort, Mr John Bell, if he pleaſes, may declare publicly, whether, if he had occaſion to be cut for the ſtone, or to undergo the operation for the radical cure of the Hydrocele, he would or would not think himſelf expoſed to peculiar danger, if his dear friend and nameſake Mr Benjamin Bell were to be the operator, and were to perform either of theſe operations in the way that he recommends in his Book on Surgery, and has been accuſtomed to perform them with ſucceſs.—— But this is a point of no moment, in compariſon of the great object to which he has irreſiſtibly called our attention.

In no part of his Anſwer has Mr John Bell come ſo near to giving me a little credit for ſome diſtant approach to veracity, as in the following. (*Sect.* 3. *p.* 10.) " If he inform you there are " *two* parties, you may be aſſured there is *one*." It is plain, that when he penned this ſentence, he muſt have had in view the vulgar maxim, that people ſhould not believe more than one half of what the world ſays; as in the common caſes, of a young lady ſaid to have lain in privately of twins, or of a gentleman ſaid to have

have been twice detected cheating at cards, and twice using loaded dice.

The fact that there prevailed in the College of Surgeons a moſt rancorous ſpirit of party, being publicly notorious, could not be denied. It therefore was his buſineſs to make the *beſt*, that is, to make the *leaſt* poſſible of it. To this urgent neceſſity, which has always been found the mother of invention, and to his happy remembrance and ingenious application of a trite vulgar maxim, we owe the noble diſcovery, that the Royal College of Surgeons may be divided into *one*, and this one a moſt inveterate party. As this diſcovery was not made in Ireland, it cannot be called a *bull*; but it is a good *imperialiſm*, and one of the fineſt examples I have ever ſeen of what may be done by ſuperior genius. Any ordinary perſon, nay, even our Profeſſors of Logic and of Mathematics, would be apt to ſay, If there be *one* party, you may be aſſured that there are at leaſt *two* parties, perhaps more. Indeed, I ſuſpect both thoſe learned Profeſſors will be much alarmed, and diſpoſed to give themſelves and their ſciences over for loſt, when they hear of this portentous diſcovery. For if any whole may be divided into *one* part, which when the whole conſiſt of a number of perſons is called a *party*, ſo may every whole, or any quantity be; ſuch as a line, a ſurface, or a ſolid; a cheeſe, or a landed eſtate. Then ſuch a part or party, as there is no other part of the whole, muſt either be the whole, or at leaſt *bona fide* equal to the whole. Then this *one* party of the Royal College, having no other party to clapperclaw and to revile in print, and yet being unable to abſtain from ſuch exercifes, muſt either have been clapperclawing and reviling itſelf without mercy, or clapperclawing and reviling nobody at all. Nay more, that party, individually and collectively, has been engaged in divers moſt inveterate law-ſuits, and has been proſecuted for very heavy damages: that is, it has either gone to law with itſelf, and proſecuted itſelf for heavy damages,

on account of groſs, opprobrious, inſufferable wrongs, done by itſelf, to itſelf; or it has been embroiled in law-ſuits, and proſecuted for ſwinging damages, by certain Non-Entities, pretending to be members of a party that they know does not exiſt, any more than they do themſelves; though they are unqueſtionably Members of the Royal College of Surgeons, and no Members of that party of it which they are proſecuting for various wrongs done to them. Two of theſe Non-Entities have had the unparalleled preſumption to proſecute the one and only party in their College, for depriving them of certain rights which the ſaid Non-Entities pretended to have as Members of the College. Another of thoſe Non-Entities has carried the joke ſtill farther, by pretending to have been the Preſident of their College, and to have been turned out of his Chair of Office, and cenſured publicly, in very harſh terms, by a party to which he did not belong, and which he has ſince proſecuted in a Court of Juſtice, laying his damages at L. 1000. Never was a Court of Juſtice in this world ſo bamboozled. If every Judge in it had got to his own ſhare the whole brains of Ariſtotle undivided, ſtill the puzzle would have been inextricable and hopeleſs: a law-ſuit, or ſtill worſe, many law-ſuits, carried on with the greateſt inveteracy, and only one party in them all, muſt always be to Judges as great a ſtumbling-block as a part equal to the whole generally proves to Mathematicians.—— Compared to this, the ingenious *quizzing* of My Lord Preſident was but a ſchool-boy's trick, and plainly the work of a much inferior genius. The joke conſiſted in making him believe, that he was a Party and not a Judge, or at leaſt doubt which he was, the very day that the cauſe between the College of Surgeons and the Managers of the Infirmary came before the Court; and was perpetrated by giving him notice, (falſely), juſt before he took his ſeat on the Bench, that he had the day before been elected a Manager of the Royal Infirmary. It was ſuppoſed, with much probability,

bability, that the very little reverence which, on ſome preliminary point of the cauſe, his Lordſhip had expreſſed for the pretended contract of 1738, ſuggeſted that curious expedient to ſet him aſide as a Judge. But the chief merit of it was, that it went ſo very near to that nice and dangerous figure of logic, called *Bocardo;* which the beſt logicians of Oxford have always dreaded, it being ſo eaſy to get into it, and ſo difficult to get out of it. This will be found well explained in the Claſſical Dictionary. See *Quod.*

That figure of rhetoric, the interrogation, of which Mr John Bell has ſo nobly availed himſelf, has always been regarded as the moſt animated and forcible apoſtrophe. The doctrine of Longinus on this ſubject, and the ſtriking examples of it in the orations of Demoſthenes, muſt no doubt have been freſh in his memory, when he penned thoſe admirable queſtions which I have quoted from his Anſwer to me. Such queſtions too have many advantages, which Longinus has not pointed out, but which Mr John Bell ſeems to have underſtood perfectly. A queſtion can neither be contradicted nor refuted; for, unlike a propoſition, it can neither be true nor falſe, and yet it may convey, more ſtrongly than any propoſition can do, the ſame important meaning; for example, " Who, before your Memorialiſt has dared to " ſay that there are parties?" The meaning conveyed by this queſtion is eſſentially the ſame with, No man before your Memorialiſt has dared to ſay, that there are parties among the Surgeons of Edinburgh, and all that he has ſaid about them is falſe, and a mere fiction of his own. He is, I believe, right in ſaying, You (the Managers) are now for the firſt time informed, that there are parties among the Surgeons of this City; if, by this, he means that it is the firſt time that the Managers have been told of it in a printed Memorial addreſſed to them. But if he means by it, that the Managers never before knew or heard that there were parties among the Surgeons, nay, violent and inveterate parties among

them, he is as completely miſtaken as he has been with reſpect to any of the facts which he has moſt confidently aſſerted in the regular form of propoſition.

In proof of this I need only ſtate, that two of the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons always are Managers of the Royal Infirmary, and by its Charter muſt be ſo. To this I may add, that the inveterate ſpirit of party which prevails among the Surgeons, has been ſo fully diſplayed in word and deed, in writing and printing, that no Manager of the Infirmary, who took a heartfelt intereſt in the welfare of the Hoſpital, could be ſuppoſed ignorant of it, or indifferent to it.

As to his queſtions, Why are you told this? Is it your concern? I anſwer briefly, that it was told them by me, becauſe it was very much their concern; and that it was told them publicly, in a printed Memorial, very generally diſtributed, becauſe it is the concern of the public, and chiefly of the ſick poor, for whom the Managers are but Truſtees. It was fit that the public ſhould know, what the Managers had long known and lamented; what they had at firſt endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent; and what they had repeatedly endeavoured, but equally in vain, to rectify. It was fit that the public ſhould know, at leaſt in general, for I carefully avoided mentioning particulars, the chief of the many ſtrong reaſons that the Managers had, for making a deciſive effort to get rid of an evil, which had long been great, and was daily increaſing. It was not on account of occaſional differences in opinion, or accidental perſonal quarrels, or profeſſional rivalſhip among ſome individuals Members of the Royal College of Surgeons, that the attention of the Managers, and of the public, was called on the preſent occaſion to their inveterate warfare; but on account of that rancorous ſpirit of party, and that implacable animoſity which prevailed among them, and rendered the conſulting-room a ſcene of endleſs wrangling, and the operation-room a ſcene

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of the moſt malignant criticiſm; which often fruſtrated the benevolent purpoſe for which the Hoſpital was eſtabliſhed, and had actually driven from the duties of it ſome of the moſt reſpectable Surgeons who had ever practiſed in this city.

As to " that univerſal ſentiment of philanthropy and charity, " in that feeling, without which a man is degraded from his na- " ture!" which Mr John Bell ſo boldly thruſts in our faces, the beſt commentary on it, and the beſt explanation of its real nature and value, will be found in the unanimous reſolution of the Royal College of Surgeons, 9th of Auguſt 1784; in which it ſtands on record, that they would not give the Managers an opportunity of making alterations, however good for the Hoſpital, that is, for the ſick poor in it, which would not be for the benefit of the Royal College.

Though peculiarly ill qualified for the taſk, I ſhall endeavour to convey to the Managers and the public, ſome notion of that ſtate of inveterate warfare, which, from the uniformly concurrent teſtimony of many competent witneſſes, I have long underſtood to prevail among the Surgeons. That I may do no injuſtice to any individual, or any party of them; or be ſuppoſed to impute to the preſent Members of their College, the ſentiments and actions of their predeceſſors more than twenty years ago, I ſhall divide the ſhort time of their eternal war, which I have had occaſion to hear of, into three different periods. The firſt of theſe extends from the time when I firſt had occaſion to hear of it, that is, from the time when I ſettled as a Phyſician in Edinburgh, about ſeven and twenty years ago, to the time when Mr John Bell became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons; it being expreſsly declared that he, and his Junior Brethren, can have no ſhare either in the merit or demerit of any thing ſaid or done during that firſt period; and it being underſtood that they may, if they pleaſe, be thought ignorant of all that paſſed during that time. The ſecond period extends

tends from the day when Mr John Bell became a Fellow of that Royal College, to the day when my former Memorial was diſtributed.——It will not, I hope, be thought either unreaſonable or uncandid, to ſuppoſe, that he, and many of his Junior Brethren, know at leaſt the general tenor and ſpirit of the tranſactions of their own College during their own time; and even that they are well acquainted with many particular facts and circumſtances, whether they had any concern in them or not.——The third period extends from the time when my former Memorial was diſtributed to the preſent hour. This eventful period might well afford materials for many volumes, as in fact it has already done, for many volumes of law-papers, which may almoſt be ſaid to be written and printed in letters of gold; that is, in letters which have coſt much gold. But, as the moſt important events in this laſt period are already well known to the Managers and the Public, it is unneceſſary for me to enlarge on them; eſpecially as Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſq; yet lives, a proſperous gentleman, and I truſt will think the ſubject not unworthy of his pen.

As to the firſt of thoſe periods, I can teſtify in general, that from the time I ſettled in Edinburgh, I heard ſo much, and ſo often, of their diſputes and their brawls, both in their conſultations in the Infirmary, and at their convivial meetings, both of the College as a body, and of clubs, conſiſting chiefly of members of the College, that I reſolved peremptorily never to be a member of any of thoſe clubs, nor even a viſitor at any of their meetings. From what I heard of them, I ſhould have thought them moſt unpleaſant meetings; and I could not have been a member of any of their ſocieties without ſiding with one party or other, which I was reſolved never to do, conſidering it as both irrational and illiberal. I was always at pains to avoid being informed of the nature of their diſputes and parties, or even of the ſubjects of their altercations: but I could not avoid hearing ſometimes of ve-

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ry diſgraceful brawls which took place among them. Some of theſe were deſcribed in ſuch lively and ludicrous terms, and with ſo many ſtrange circumſtances, that it was impoſſible not to ſuſpect ſome degree of fancy and exaggeration in the account that was given of them; but I ſcarce think there could have been ſuch fanciful and exaggerated accounts without ſome foundation: and I muſt ſay, that one of the moſt marvellous of thoſe adventures, ſomething like the confuſion of King Agramant's Camp, or the battle royal in Don Quixote's enchanted inn, was deſcribed to me minutely, in the houſe, and in the preſence of a moſt reſpectable Fellow of that Royal College, who did not diſpute the accuracy of any part of the deſcription, and contented himſelf with declaring, very dryly, that he had been long a Member of it, and yet had never given or received one blow at any of its meetings. But that this was not the caſe univerſally with all its Members, was perfectly well known. I remember to have heard of one memorable ſkirmiſh, *parole* ſwimming, which afforded much amuſement to the ſcoffers. I remember to have heard, from an eye-witneſs, a minute account of a by-battle, at an accidental meeting in a private houſe, between two Fellows of the College, one of whom, having caught a Tartar, was pommelled in a very maſterly ſtyle. I have heard, from equally good authority, that at the ſupper given to the Royal College by the preſent worthy Preſident when he was admitted a Fellow of it, which muſt have been near twenty years ago, ſome of the Honourable Members were at blows before the table-cloth was removed; which was thought ſomewhat extraordinary. As to the number of ſlaps on the face, kicks on the breech, broken heads, black eyes, bloody noſes, pegs on the ſtomach, croſs buttocks, and chucks under the chin, which were given and received on that or any other of their grand field days, I never could obtain particular information: but no doubt it muſt have been very conſiderable. It is much to be lamented,

lamented, that no exact record of their practice in that reſpect was ever kept, as was very properly done of the practice of the volunteer companies of artillery on their grand days of exerciſe. Such a record, faithfully kept, would have been moſt edifying and inſtructive reading; eſpecially to their ſucceſſors, even to time's end. *Majorum gloria poſteris lumen eſt.* And certainly it would have been very delightful reading to all literate perſons, even though not diſpoſed nor required to follow the illuſtrious example. Either Fielding, or the divine Plato, who was himſelf a bruiſer, or ſome other equally great Philoſopher, has juſtly obſerved, that ſuch things are far pleaſanter to read of than to feel. I know that the late Dr John Hope was prevailed on to become a Member of one of their clubs; and that he ſoon found it too hot for him. I know that Dr Hope was ſo ſhocked and diſguſted with their mode of wrangling in the conſultation-room of the Infirmary, that he came to a right underſtanding with the Surgeon's clerk, and from him got intelligence whenever there was to be a conſultation, and took care to be out of the way in due time. But as a complete ſpecimen of the ſpirit which prevailed among them, even in the conſulting room of the Infirmary, it is ſufficient to mention one fact, which certainly will not be diſputed, as it muſt ſtill be freſh in the memory of many eye-witneſſes. In the courſe of one of their altercations, one of them behaved in ſuch a manner, that another, provoked at his inſufferable inſolence, ſeized him by the throat, and put him in the fire: I mean his better end, his nobler part, his ſeat of honour; for the grate was not large enough to receive his whole perſon. So the offender got off, *minus* one pair of breeches, and perhaps ſome portion of leather, which it may be preſumed would grow again. According to my information, there was not one Member of the College, unleſs perhaps the patient himſelf, who did not highly approve of that vigorous application of the actual cautery to his tail;

tail; or rather of his tail to the actual cautery. That kind of practice, though ſomewhat uncommon now-a-days, is fully juſtified by our beſt eſtabliſhed medical axioms; one of which is expreſſed by Boerhaave in the following words, *In maximis malis ſemel et cito tentanda ſumma remedia.* Another of them is the well-known aphoriſm of Hippocrates, *Quæcunque non ſanant medicamenta, ea ferrum ſanat; quæ ferrum non ſanat, ea ignis ſanat; quæ ignis non ſanat, ea incurabilia putare oportet.* 8. 6.

It is unneceſſary to produce any more proofs and examples of that rancorous and inveterate warfare which prevailed in the Royal College of Surgeons, even within the walls of this Hoſpital, between ſixteen and ſeven and twenty years ago. The authenticity of the examples given, will not, I preſume, be diſputed either by Mr John Bell or by any of his Clients, who probably will be more inclined to exult in them; and at leaſt are well entitled to ſay, that they have no more to do with thoſe diſgraceful brawls, than with the biting and kicking among the unclean beaſts in Noah's Ark; as all theſe things paſſed before their time.

It is a more nice and difficult matter, to give proper examples and proofs of the rancorous ſpirit of party that has prevailed among them in the ſecond period; that is, from the time that Mr John Bell became a member of the College, till ſummer 1800, when my unlucky Memorial came forth: for not only any general account that I might give of it, but every particular inſtance that I could mention, however accurately ſtated, and however well authenticated to me, might be made the ſubject of endleſs diſpute and altercation; and would even involve, what I ſhould be ſorry to ſee involved in this diſcuſſion, the perſonal and profeſſional character, that is, the fame and fortune, of many individuals among them. This conſideration has ſuch weight with me, that, rather than run the riſk of doing ſo great an evil, I believe I ſhould have contented myſelf with the general reference in my former

Memorial, to the works of the formidable Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſquire.

But luckily I am poſſeſſed of a moſt precious document, which was in my hands at the time I was writing my former Memorial, and which at that time I ſuppreſſed, from conſiderations of delicacy; which Mr John Bell and his clients have had the goodneſs completely to remove. The document to which I allude is ſo complete and admirable, and ſo well ſuited for my purpoſe, that it looks as if it had been expreſsly made for it. It is in print, and has been ſo for about four years and a half; that is, for more than two years before my Memorial appeared: it was diſtributed among all the members of the College of Surgeons, and muſt have been read and well known by all of them, and by many hundreds of others; it is anonymous, and the name of no individual of their College is mentioned in it; it does not even appear, from a peruſal of it, what particular tranſaction among them gave occaſion to ſuch a bitter Philippick; it is written with a degree of fire and eloquence, little, if at all, inferior to that of ſome of the writings of Jonathan Dawplucker himſelf; though ſubſcribed only A FELLOW MEMBER, it is not on this account the leſs authentic, for the author of it is better known even than Jonathan Dawplucker. I am not entitled to mention his name; but the Managers and the public may be aſſured, that I ſhould never offer ſuch an indignity to Mr John Bell and his Clients, as to quote in oppoſition to their ſtrong inſinuations, even againſt my own veracity, the writings of an obſcure or contemptible author. It is a vulgar but a very juſt obſervation, that compariſons are odious; elſe I ſhould certainly attempt to draw ſome kind of compariſon or parallel, in the manner of Plutarch, between this very eloquent and indignant fellow member, and Mr John Bell, and Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſquire.

It is proper however to mention, that the Fellow Member is highly reſpected and eſteemed for his talents, his veracity, and his probity: I mean that he is ſo by one party in the Royal College; the other party, no doubt, which happened to be the majority when his letter was written, would be very glad to ſee his ſkeleton. This of courſe he would take for granted, when he was writing and printing his letter. Yet it muſt not be thought that his letter expreſſes the ſentiments of only one individual of their number; for there is ample evidence, both poſitive and negative, that other fellow members approved of his ſentiments, and his publication of them. In the firſt place, negatively; he was not put in a ſtrait waiſtcoat on account of his printed letter; nor was he proſecuted for ſcandal and defamation on account of the many atrocious charges of infamous conduct which he brought againſt his brethren; he was not kicked down ſtairs, or thrown out at the window, for what he had printed: he was not even ſent to Coventry, as it is called, by any reſolution of his brethren not to ſpeak to him. Theſe negative conſiderations, in the judgment of every candid perſon, muſt imply, that there was much truth in what he had ſaid. But, in addition to them, we have the poſitive circumſtances, that he has been highly eſteemed and reſpected by many of his brethren, indeed by one whole party of them, who have given him repeatedly the moſt ample, public, and honourable teſtimonials of their favourable ſentiments. I ſcarce think Mr John Bell himſelf has much more to boaſt of in that reſpect than the nameleſs Fellow Member.

One glaring inconſiſtency and contradiction between his letter and Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, cannot fail to ſtrike even the moſt careleſs reader: for while the latter repreſents his brethren, individually and collectively, as every thing that is great and good in their own profeſſion, and in human nature, the former repreſents them as every thing that is vile, deteſtable, and infamous.

Such contradictions cannot be reconciled; but, in the preſent inſtance, I believe, they may be accounted for. The Fellow Member, in his printed letter, expreſſed his genuine indignant ſentiments, without reſtraint, reſerve, or diſguiſe: whereas Mr John Bell, acting in the character of an Advocate, was obliged to expreſs thoſe ſentiments, however repugnant to his own, which might ſerve the purpoſe of his clients. I have a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that Mr John Bell's ſentiments, with reſpect to his brethren, are not eſſentially different from thoſe expreſſed by the Fellow Member: and it is certain at leaſt, that neither the publication of the Fellow Member's Letter, nor that of Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, has produced any perceptible coolneſs in thoſe warm ſentiments of eſteem, admiration, and affection which they always have teſtified for one another. If there be any points on which Mr John Bell thinks the Fellow Member has either ſaid the things which are not, or done any injuſtice to his brethren, it will be eaſy for him to point them out, in a manner the moſt delicate, and beſt ſuited to their long and tender friendſhip. This I hope he will have the goodneſs to do, as it will give unſpeakable comfort to all concerned, and to no body more than to myſelf.

As the indignant Fellow Member's private Letter, which, for the ſake of greater privacy, was printed, diſtributed, and handed about all over the town, is not only completely adapted to my purpoſe on the preſent occaſion, but is really a ſplendid and valuable production of ſuperior genius, and now become very ſcarce; I am ſure it will be very gratifying to the Royal College of Surgeons, to the Managers of the Infirmary, and to the public in general, to ſee it reprinted *verbatim* in this Memorial. For this good purpoſe, I have put into the hands of Meſſ. Murray and Cochrane a fair clean copy of it, with the moſt pointed directions to reprint it faithfully: ſo, if there be any deviation from the original, they, not I, muſt anſwer for it: and if the indignant Fellow Member finds

finds any ſuch error in it, were it but the omitting or miſplacing of a ſingle point of admiration, he has my hearty conſent to ſeize the ſaid Meſſ. Murray and Cochrane, with their compoſitors and preſſmen, and their Devil to boot, and put them all to the *peine forte et dure* in their own printing preſs, *in terrorem*, and for the benefit of all future printers. The only liberty that I have preſumed to take with that moſt precious and original document, is the affixing of a few arithmetical numbers to the margin of it, for the ſake of preciſe and eaſy reference to certain luminous paſſages, which I wiſh to be conſidered in their full relation with the context, rather than to be exhibited and criticiſed in the form of detached quotations or extracts.

A PRIVATE LETTER, *addreſſed to the* GENTLEMEN *of the* ROYAL COLLEGE *of* SURGEONS, *by a* FELLOW MEMBER. *Edinburgh, July* 9. 1798.

The requeſt, in anſwer to which the following ſhort note was written, is one of the many motives for calling the attention of the Members of the Royal College of Surgeons to the preſent condition of that Society, the Elections, Offices, Buſineſs, and Duties of it.

SIR,

HAVING firſt received a letter from you, requeſting my vote to make you Preſident of the Royal College of Surgeons, you afterwards, in the ſtreets, forced me into a converſation, which was, to ſay the leaſt of it, unneceſſary. On my part, that converſation conſiſted chiefly of one queſtion, viz. Whether you yourſelf had not promiſed to vote for Mr. ——? You ſaid you had; and your reſolution

reſolution of keeping your word gives me ſuch a ſingular opinion of your honour and good ſenſe, that I cannot but vote along with you.—I am, Your moſt obedient ſervant,

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SIR,

THE conſtitution of the Royal College of Surgeons gives to every Member high privileges in ſpeaking his ſentiments among his fellow Members; but this is a dead law. The buſineſs is uſually ſo formed by the official Members, that no man feels any peculiar call to do his duty; and his opinion degenerates into a ſilent vote, or unavailing proteſt. He is not encouraged to ſpeak his opinions; he is indifferent about buſineſs; which can do no honour nor ſervice to the Society;—its concerns roll on in one undiſtinguiſhed rotine; many Gentlemen have not condeſcended to appear at its meetings for years; and now, to the utter ſhame and diſgrace of the College, no one public duty occupies their thoughts, till that
(1) ſeaſon returns in which ſome ſingle Member is to puſh his way into the Council Chamber, for purpoſes which it were beſt, even among ourſelves, to leave unexplained.

When a Member of the College feels theſe things as he ſhould do, it is his privilege, and his bounden duty, to ſpeak his ſentiments in that form in which he thinks they will be moſt effectual; but he ſhould endeavour to do it with tenderneſs towards others, and under that reſtraint which becomes an individual Member, addreſſing himſelf to a public body, and to the Members of a public body. The perſon who now addreſſes you, feels that he acts honeſtly; proteſts himſelf purged of malice, free and honourable in his motives; with no little-minded private reſentment lurking about him; but with an honeſt and growing indignation
(2) at a public abuſe which has been increaſing upon us for years, and now knows no bounds.

It

It is the fate of every public body to ſtruggle, firſt for exiſtence, then for privileges, for honours, laſt of all, when in the end, it falls, like the natural body, into ſlow decay. Our College has been much honoured, and often;—it has had large privileges, renewed from time to time;—it was once a learned body, and publiſhed thoſe eſſays which have been ſo much admired abroad;—it was then ſtruggling for the higheſt privileges, and obtained them, and was elected into a Royal College;—but at the preſent time, though it has thoſe privileges entire within it, like the ſpirit of life, yet it hardly lives, but merely exiſts. (3)

A long narration of this would ill ſuit the preſent purpoſe. The appeal is to thoſe who, being integral parts of this general body, feel, or need to feel, all the meanneſs of their ſituation: and, ungracious as the taſk may be, I wiſh to prove to you, and all my fellow Members, how ſhamefully low this College has fallen; for this evil, if fully and generally felt, could not be long endured. (4) (5)

We feel nothing intereſting or honourable in the buſineſs of this College, in the character which it confers on its Members, in the privileges which they enjoy, or in the uſe which is made of thoſe privileges. To be a Member of ſo old an inſtitution, ſo highly chartered—ſo reſpectable by its privileges, ſhould be an honour; but it is ſo fallen in reputation, that, bating the right of practiſing in this city, there is no one privilege which a ſenſible man would value. The money, time, and ſervices, by which thoſe privileges are procured, are a mere ſquandering of the beſt years of life. (6) (7)

This College, to which we belong, would very ill bear to be compared with the Great Schools of other Countries. Its name is not known abroad; or, if it is ſo, it is only by being confounded with the Univerſity; for what ſtranger could think that it were not a literary body, as our profeſſion is a learned one. Its examinings, and its five guinea diplomas, are matter of trivial form: as official paſſports, they have but limited effect. They (8)

have

have no currency—no reſpectability;—they are of no authority nor value;—they are acceſſible to all thoſe who cannot procure
(9) degrees, and are then their only refuge to ſatisfy their friends, like the parchments of private ſocieties. ——Who cares for our diploma?—

The buſineſs of the College cannot intereſt a rational man, who is entering into life with ſerious thoughts. Its laws relate to fines and meetings—the diſtributing of worthleſs diplomas—the exami-
(10) ning of the moſt ignorant young men, of whom no regular qualifications are required;—to the election of a Deacon, who goes to the Town Council but to be neglected; who, if he were truly choſen for his proper office, of Preſiding over a Royal College, over a ſociety of men bred up to ſcience, and thinking of their profeſſion alone, would feel himſelf but little connected with the Town Council, and not at all with politics; would go there ſeldom; and would be accordingly honoured. The buſineſs of the College is
(11) not paſſively deſpiſed, it is deteſted;—the place is forſaken;—its buſineſs is abandoned to thoſe few who need to hunt for ſome little office, or who have to run backwards and forwards, at the call of the whipper-in, and yelp in order to turn the game.—Who beſides minds the buſineſs to this Royal College?—Is this a fit or decent thing for men who belong to a ſerious profeſſion, and a learned one?

The offices of the College of Surgeons are ſuch as bring no honour. They are conſidered only as the means of procuring other offices out of the profeſſion—leſs honourable, but gainful; and yet it is ſtrange that ſuch mean offices ſhould be ſought after in this way:—for theſe offices muſt be filled up; without theſe ſneaking methods, each office muſt be given to ſome one; and it is only the intenſe deſire to procure them that hurries us into needleſs
(12) baſeneſs. But yet this is the pitiful motive for which an office, that of Preſident of the College of Surgeons, which ſhould be honourable,

nourable, has been long diſgraced; and now, more than ever. Did no man propoſe himſelf for this office but with manly and reſpectful notions of what the College of Surgeons ſhould be, and with a due ſenſe of the value of his fellow Members, and of the dignity of the ſtation to which he aſpired. Thoſe high thoughts would make him worthy of the honour. But are thoſe, indeed, the motives? It were cruel to ſay of any individual that he did not ſolicit the office with ſuch honourable intentions, or were not fit for its duties;—but if the Members of the Royal College of Surgeons had that reſpect for themſelves, and for each other, which they ſhould have, no one would dare to offer himſelf who were not, in ſome degree, worthy. It were ſurely requiring no hard thing of every right minded man, that, laying his hand on his heart, he ſhould ſay, I believe the man for whom I vote to be worthy of this office;—I do not vote for him in conſideration of his private intereſts, or peculiar ſituation;—I ſupport him with no other thought than that he is to buſy himſelf in the intereſt and honour of this College, and in that alone. Do we now acknowledge that this would be honourable, ſtrictly honourable? and yet it is not done!!!

Once we had a College, and Preſidents—and buſineſs, intereſting to every Member. Our College was aſſociated with phyſicians, for the purpoſe of publiſhing books of Science. Then character was equally divided in this commonwealth of knowledge, and the name of Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and eſpecially the title of Preſident, was honourable abroad; and, what is more difficult, more intereſting, was reſpected at home.—But now that collection of obſervation, which once was a chief buſineſs of the College, is neglected;—and though this work of our forefathers has been infinitely approved of—which it is a laſting benefit to our profeſſion, and an honour to the College to which we belong, is a reproach to us.——Do our preſent Members think

ſo meanly of themſelves?—or are they inſenſible to ſuch duties, and to ſuch honours?

There is no public buſineſs, nor any motive for aſſembling in the Hall. There is no private harmony—no means of cultivating
(13) a good underſtanding one with another; but we feel as if ſome ſpirit were working among us to divide us into abſurd parties, without apology or motive, or with ſuch motives only as a ſenſible man would bluſh to own.

There was indeed a time when every ſocial meeting, was ac-
(14) companied with thoſe loathſome exceſſes which could not long have been endured, which are, in our profeſſion, particularly diſgraceful. But thoſe diſorders had abſolutely ceaſed, when they
(15) were made an awkward pretence for aboliſhing every public meeting;—yet thoſe who propoſed that ſuch ſocial meetings ſhould be diſſolved, were by no means remarkable for their chaſteneſs of conduct, nor the moſt backward at thoſe ſeaſons of revelry and riot; nor the moſt earneſt for moral reform. The true reaſon lies
(16) much deeper than this. Thoſe ſhameful exceſſes had well nigh ceaſed. The College meetings were ſubſiding into a more gentleman-like form; points of profeſſional knowledge were aſſuming the place of political cabals. Young men were daily admitted;—it ſeemed poſſible that the Society might change its complexion altogether, and reform from other follies than the pardonable levities of any occaſional debauch;—it looked as if the Members were amalgamating and running together into ſome new ſhape. The general Society began to be weary of thoſe politics, and of that eternal irritation, which was profitable to a few only. It was found that votes and promiſes could be more eaſily bargained for—bartered—and interchanged in ſtreets and corners, than in general meetings;—and it was plainly perceived, that, ſhould the College of Surgeons become one united and reſpectable body; ſhould it become a Society of induſtrious men, eſpecially of young men;

and,

and, moſt of all, of young men aſpiring to any character of knowledge in their profeſſion, the College would put away all this idle buſineſs;—it could no longer endure thoſe trifles which had hitherto been its ſole and conſtant occupations;—it would no longer be ſteared through all the wilds of politics, by a Deacon and his Council. The concluſion was obvious, and much to be feared. It was thought eaſier to pick up the ſcattered particles than to move the congregated maſs; and, for this worthy cauſe, the College was ſcattered like chaff;—all means of diſunion were provided;—all (17) attempts at reunion were obſerved with a very jealous eye; and the ſucceſſive propoſals of eſtabliſhing a uſeful and improving Society out of thoſe among the younger Members who wiſhed to be uſefully and honeſtly employed, has been ſo managed in the Deacon's Council as to ſhow plainly that politics and ſcience have no natural connection.

I make it my duty to ſpeak thus plainly my ſenſe of what I have ſeen, and of the tendency of it; for this ſyſtem has grown into ſuch a flagrant enormity, that now the College of Surgeons (18) has degenerated into a ſet of politicians, not of the moſt exalted rank; and every ſucceeding abuſe has its particular end, and every movement explains what is deſigned. I think almoſt a man might forſake his profeſſion, and ſtill retain influence enough to ſtruggle againſt a whole ſet of young men zealous and earneſt to do well!!!

No one among us can be ignorant from what motives it is that men have ſought to be placed in the chair of the Royal College of Surgeons. Their abilities to fulfil an honourable charge;—their deſire to acquit themſelves well;—their reſpectability in their profeſſion;—their long ſtanding, or repute, never enter into their own minds;—no anxieties of this kind trouble the electors or the elected; it is to procure an office that they are elected; and, when they are elected, their object is almoſt enſured. For thoſe who

need or deſire ſuch appointments, he muſt be an ill hearted man who does not feel ſome concern and ſympathy, according to his degree of connection and intimacy; but he ſhould feel himſelf infinitely degraded in ſhowing his friendſhip in this way. Let us choke up this thoroughfare to politics through ſacred ground; for while objects ſo tempting are in view, men will not be reſtrained. It is eaſy to perceive how the beſt and moſt induſtrious of our profeſſion may be ſeduced by this rage like gaming, which abſorbs all other thought, and diſdains no means of acquiring its object. Often, in the entering into the world, a young perſon is like one "ſtruggling for life among the waters," and feels thoſe labours and hardſhips, thoſe diſappointments and neceſſities, which drive a thinking man almoſt to deſpair; without blame he is eaſily ſeduced from his profeſſion; he is anxious to make proviſion for thoſe depending on him the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way, and is induced to go after expectations far different from thoſe which animated him in the firſt proud outſet of life, when he thought he had made choice of that profeſſion in which he could delight to work his way to a reſpectable ſtation with pleaſant labour.

The man who does this may be pitied, but cannot be blamed. Should a private individual ſee the companion of his early days abandon his profeſſion, and break all thoſe expectations which made a part, as it were, of their mutual friendſhip, and make himſelf wretchedly dependent on chances which no man can controul, and the ſlave of others, what would he feel? Could he approve of this? Would he not be ſenſible that his friend was loſt to himſelf and to the world? And if a private friend ſhould thus lament a man of abilities in his profeſſion abandoning himſelf to ſuch objects, ſhould a College encourage this temper, or tempt its Members by bribes, or ſuffer them to abandon or neglect their profeſſion, which it is the very eſſence of the inſtitution to ſupport? When once ſuch motives and objects generally prevail,

prevail, and are conſidered as the direct or indirect motive of every connection among our fellow Members, they abſorb every honeſt or induſtrious thought in the vortex of jealous and uneaſy paſſions; and the buſineſs of the College, its offices, its public meetings, its annual elections, are all turned to this one point. A man ſhall pretend to ſolicit the chair of the Royal College of Surgeons from the moſt honourable motives—ſhall cheat his fellow Members with promiſes of reform—and yet ſhall neglect all thoſe meaſures which might put ſcience in motion, enſure improvement, raiſe the Society from its preſent meanneſs, and give to each individual Member his ſhare of reputation—ſhall think of nothing but how to ſtick up, in the place which he muſt appear to leave, an image which will move when he draws the ſtrings—of the pretty puppet!

Thus it is that our diſhonour is perpetuated; that the Preſident of the Royal College, and, by implication, every Member of it, becomes a ſuitor for ſome deſpicable poſt, and even in the Town Council is deſpiſed, but ſtill muſt be gratified—becauſe he has been made Convener—has got the command of his fellow Deacons—has drunk them into good humour with himſelf, and ill humour with the Town Council—has procured another ſet of votes—has eſtabliſhed a ſecond cabal; and, in ſhort, has inoculated (19) another public body with that venomous infection which he has carried out of his own. To be plain, the College of Surgeons *does gamble with its votes for places and penſions ſuch as they are.* Their Preſident is as a conſul to negotiate the trade for himſelf or his (20) friends, and Deacon after Deacon labours in the filthy craft without ſhame.

But, Sir, the open diſgrace is nothing, compared with the in- (21) ward unhappineſs which prevails among us.—There is no chance of harmony or friendſhip among a public body, unleſs they are open, generous, and honeſt with each other, employed about ſome public

public and reſponſible buſineſs, and with no thoughts which they may not eaſily diſcloſe.—But, with us, no one knows what another is doing.—He looks in another's face, and ſees that he has been tampered with; he ſees counſels and whiſperings in ſtairs and paſſages;—each is vexed with ſolicitations—jealouſies foreign to his own honeſt thoughts are cunningly infuſed into his mind; he is irritated and ſtirred up againſt ſome particular perſon.—He
(22) is his enemy before he knows.—Other reaſons are acknowledged for liking or diſliking, than thoſe which ariſe from the mere intercourſe of gentlemen one with another.

(23) Is not this the pure ſpirit of party?—Has not the deſigning ſecrecy of theſe cabals an ill influence on the minds and manners of men?—Let me aſk you, Sir, as a Member of this College, Has
(24) a man leave to be neutral?—Has he leave to indulge the natural bent of his diſpoſition?—Does he not ſee every moment men divided from him, almoſt without a motive, with whom he had expected to live in conſtant and uſeful friendſhip?—It has really come to paſs, as Voltaire ſays, " That one muſt either be " hammer or anvil."—He has no choice.—This ſpirit of party interrupts all friendſhip, but I hope not permanently—is deadly
(25) to every principle of honour.—Accuſtomed to dabbling in the Town Council for poſts, our Members learn to call it politics; and, having profeſſed themſelves politicians, they aſſume, along with the title, all the privileges of politicians—reſtleſſneſs—neglect of their proper duties,—enmity without a cauſe, and breach of faith without a motive;—till, at laſt, every thing diſhoneſt
(26) ceaſes to be diſhonourable;—and *divide and govern* is no doubt among the maxims which ſome aſſume as part of this broad charter, which confers on our little doings the title, the pri-
(27) vileges, and apologies, and all the dignified villanies of high politics.—One ſolicits a vote to eſtabliſh a friend in the Preſident's chair—that that friend may aſſiſt another friend to make

votes

votes in the Town Council—to procure a place which he has ſolicited for five years—For they are building a houſe of correction—and it will be ſoon built—and perhaps people will be put into it—and perhaps it will need a Surgeon,—and probably the Deacon of the year will be made Surgeon,—and very likely the ſalary that ſhall be aſſigned him will bear ſome ſort of proportion to the ſteadineſs of his influence; and perhaps though he is elected this year, and has got the place, if he be not Deacon next year he may have no ſalary at all, and ſo get the diſh which Grumio propoſes to his termagant miſtreſs, "Now, good ſweet "lady, what would you think of the muſtard without the meat." This is the prieſt all ſhaven and ſhorn,—that loved the maiden all forlorn,—that *MILKED the COW with* the *CROOKED HORN*,—that toſſed the dog,—that worried the cat,—that killed the rat,—that eat the malt,—that lay in the houſe that *JACK BUILT*.———

Theſe are the purpoſes, Sir, for which you and I and all of us are kept in perpetual torment, till ſome among us have as fairly forgotten what a vote or a promiſe means, as they have the ten com- (28)
mandments. Every thing diſhoneſt ceaſes to be diſhonourable, and all becauſe it is called politics, till at laſt a perſon, either from making too nice diſtinctions, or too coarſe diſtinctions, or from making no diſtinctions at all, promiſes a gentleman his vote to make him Preſident of the College of Surgeons, as if he wiſhed him ſucceſs, and then propoſes himſelf as a candidate, as if again he were ſo ABSURD as to wiſh himſelf ſucceſs, and then he promiſes to keep his word and his HONOUR, as if he meant that both ſhould ſucceed, and ſo he pulls with the left hand, and draws with the right. "Then be theſe juggling friends no more believed that paulter "with us in a double ſenſe; that keep the word of promiſe to our "ear, and break it to our hope.—I'LL NOT FIGHT WITH THEE."

But there is perhaps another intereſt working againſt all improvement, and it is the fancied ſuperiority of certain gentlemen, who

who yet are prudent enough to ſecure that ſuperiority by other means than a fair pre-eminence in knowledge. They are fearful of every
(29) young man,—jealous of every approach,—their diſtinction would be infinitely leſſened if they were ſurrounded by young people whoſe individual eſſays might compoſe a reſpectable volume. This is not generous, perhaps, but it is ſurely true. It is not my own obſervations only, it was the obſervation of other ſenſible men who felt it ſorely. It has been ſaid, that there are men againſt whom
(30) you can commit no higher offence, than to ſhow any anxiety that your profeſſion ſhould be generally improved: The leaſt movement or tendency that way excites a jealouſy and reſiſtance, as if the ſtruggle were for life and being. If this College were but what it ſhould be, no one would dare to ſhow even a luke-warm temper towards ſo high an intereſt, or, if he ſhould dare to interrupt ſuch uſeful deſigns, would be branded with the name of traitor to that ſcience which he was ſworn to promote.

I would have the College of Surgeons look well to its reſpectability and good name, and let no individual Member ſay it is none of my concern.—We feel, indeed, little connection with this public body, becauſe we have no common intereſt in it—we have no ho-
(31) nour in being common Members of it; the inſtitution has been thoroughly degraded. But if it could be raiſed to a reſpectable ſtation among Colleges, or if it ſhould fall yet a little lower than we ſhould indeed feel, how much we are individually affected by its ſtate. Our profeſſion ſtands on the difficult ground of public opinion, and in a public body the conduct of Members is more obſerved than they are apt to believe, and it forms a part of their general character—ours is a public profeſſion and a buſy one, every man's way of purſuing his profeſſion is perfectly known, and that public which ſeems to think ſo little, and yet judges ſo truly, gives to every one his due reward.

It

It were well if the College of Surgeons, in place of ſtriving to de- (32)
baſe itſelf every day more and more, in place of buſying itſelf in behalf of a few, not the moſt reſpectable of its Members, in cabals and ſolicitations for petty offices, were to employ itſelf in matters which might make the preſent Members reſpectable; and in ſettling a ſyſtem of education in a Univerſity where every kind of education can be procured, ſuch as would enſure a ſucceſſion of valuable Members who might maintain the reſpectability of the College and the honour of a profeſſion which needs continually to be ſupported; for it ſtands upon the difficult ground of opinion, and by a very little miſconduct, all that makes it reſpectable, honourable, or uſeful, might go to wreck. We muſt be ſerious when ſerious matters are concerned.

You cannot be inſenſible of the ſtrong reaſons a Member has for putting his thoughts together in this haſty way; and you muſt have had ſome uneaſy feelings on that occaſion whether you have been buſied in conducting a matter which you have no reaſon to be proud of; or whether you are ſubmitting yourſelf, on the other hand, compoſedly and quietly to what you muſt conſider as no ſmall diſgrace; whatever your connections in politics or in friendſhip are, I hope and truſt you will feel for a moment the neceſſity of laying aſide all ſuch partial conſiderations, will come to the meetings of the College prepared with the honeſt feelings of an independent man, anxious for his profeſſion, ſenſible of the mean con- (33)
dition into which the Royal College of Surgeons has fallen, and ready to act a generous, open, and manly part in that College.

It is as a fellow Member that I addreſs you; and if the Society were what it ſhould be, that would be a title of ſome import, expreſſing ſome degree of eſteem and friendſhip—ſome fellowſhip in occupation and intention—ſome privileges would be annexed to that name, which at this time we cannot boaſt of, it ſhould at leaſt imply that I meant very ſincerely; and yet, when a private

Member addreſſes a public body, he cannot be without anxiety; nor reſolve upon ſo bold a meaſure, with urgent motives, and long delay. The very firſt ſtep he moves, he will feel all the delicacy of his ſituation; he will really feel himſelf performing a ſerious duty which nothing but a high ſenſe of its importance can enable him to fulfil. He cannot ſuppoſe his private thoughts to have much influence unleſs they have been anticipated by his fellow Members. He cannot ſuppoſe the name of any individual to have the ſmalleſt influence in enforcing thoſe ſentiments; fortunately the ſubject reſts leſs on authority than on common ſenſe and ſound judgment in the ordinary affairs of life; but in a caſe where ſome may chooſe to ſuppoſe themſelves offended, it is not fit that any man ſhould have leave to ſay, that by withholding his name, the writer of this letter means that it ſhould be concealed; it never ſhall be withheld on any urgent occaſion; and on an occaſion ſo full of improprieties on the ſide of thoſe whoſe conduct he condemns, he will be rather proud of any enmities he may entail upon himſelf from performing a duty ſo neceſſary, and but too long delayed; ſuch duties are more honourably diſcharged in any open and public manner, than in thoſe private converſations which are ſo liable to be miſrepreſented, and which cannot in our divided ſtate be always excluſively in the preſence of ſincere friends. If I ſhould have the happineſs to find that theſe ſentiments are in uniſon with thoſe of the more reſpectable and independent of my fellow Members, I ſhall come forward and call a meeting of the College, and propoſe ſuch laws as may perhaps render the whole College completely independent. Without this encouragement, it were preſumption for any individual to move. But whatever you,
(34) as an individual, may reſolve in the preſent diſorderly ſtate of our Society, I beſeech you to begin, before it be too late, to regard yourſelf more, and to think yourſelf more highly connected with a Society which you might help to re-eſtabliſh, whoſe re-eſtabliſh-

ment

ment would reflect honour on each of us,—which was once reſpectable;—which might be ſo eaſily reſtored;—whoſe privileges we have bought ſo dear, whoſe functions we ſhould not ſuffer to be (35) thus diſgraced.

A FELLOW MEMBER.

From my printing *verbatim* ſo long a paper, it will be underſtood that I think it of the higheſt authority and importance. Indeed it ſeems to me abſolutely deciſive of ſome of thoſe points, which at preſent I wiſh to eſtabliſh. It muſt not however be thought that I take any part in thoſe diſputes to which it relates, or mean to expreſs or inſinuate any opinion favourable to the indignant Fellow Member and his friends, or unfavourable to his opponents, whom he has treated ſo ſeverely in his Philippic. I truſt that he and his friends are too generous, and too juſt, to expect from me ſo injudicious and ſo dangerous a compliment; for which it cannot be doubted, that his opponents would inſiſt on performing on me, in a grand ſtyle, the operation of bronchotomy; that is, in plain Engliſh, they would cut my throat from ear to ear; juſt as he and his friends would do, if I ſhould pay their opponents ſo raſh a compliment as to declare, or inſinuate, that I regarded that ineſtimable private letter as a ſeries of malevolent falſehoods from end to end.

To ſay the truth, I think a little ſcarification about the external fauces would be very properly beſtowed on me, if I were mad enough to offer any opinion of perſons and tranſactions, of which I neither know nor wiſh to know any thing. What I cannot, and will not do myſelf, it would be abſurd to expect or deſire the Managers, or any other perſon to do. Of what uſe then, it may be aſked, can that printed letter be in this diſcuſſion? I think it may ſerve a very noble uſe, if we conſider it logically; or, according to Mr John Bell's happy conceit, (Section 1. page 21.) take the Cyclops

hammer to it; though indeed this appears to me ſomewhat like taking a ſledge-hammer to break an egg.

Firſt then, for the good of the public, and the credit of the Fellow Member and of his friends and adherents, we have the following plain, undeniable dilemma.—Every propoſition, that is, every thing aſſerted, in the private letter, muſt be either true or falſe.

On this dilemma reſts an equally undeniable trilemma.

If all thoſe aſſertions are true, the perſons of whom ſuch things are truly ſaid muſt be a parcel of ſad dogs; very ſad dogs indeed.

If they are all falſe, thoſe who have aſſerted, or by their approbation have ſanctioned, ſuch infamous falſehoods, muſt be a parcel of ſad dogs; very ſad dogs indeed.

But ſome, for example one half, of thoſe aſſertions, may be true, and the others falſe: if ſo, then both thoſe perſons of whom ſuch things were truly ſaid, and thoſe perſons who have falſely ſaid ſuch things of their brethren, muſt be very ſad dogs; and their whole College muſt be a ſet of the verieſt miſcreants that ever were incorporated either by Royal or Diabolical charter.

This laſt concluſion, being the moſt unfavourable of the three, and moreover being notoriouſly falſe in point of fact, and contrary to the moſt certain perſonal knowledge of the Managers of the Infirmary, and of many hundreds of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of this city, may be ſet aſide at once. It will then remain certain, that one or other of the two preceding concluſions muſt be true, namely, that one or other of the parties among the Surgeons muſt be a parcel of very ſad dogs; which was to be demonſtrated: for this is all that concerns me, or the Managers, on the preſent occaſion; and I preſume it will not be diſputed by any one Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. It clearly implies the neceſſity of ſelection among them for Hoſpital-duty, and the groſs impropriety of their numerous and promiſcuous conſultations.

tions. But if Mr John Bell or his Clients diſtruſt my demonſtration, they are heartily welcome to conſult my Brother Cyclops, the Profeſſor of Logic, and alſo, if they pleaſe, the Profeſſor of Mathematics, and learn whether they can find any flaw in it.

As to the point, of who is right or who is wrong in their diſputes, it is entirely their own buſineſs; and they may ſettle it at their leiſure, or let it alone, as they think beſt. Perhaps they may take a uſeful hint from a little domeſtic occurrence which happened in London a few years ago. There lived, and perhaps ſtill lives, in that gay city, a genteel and elegant couple, a perfect pattern of conjugal virtue and happineſs; bating only that the huſband was ſomewhat promiſcuous in his amours, and the lady rather too unguarded in the diſtribution of her favours. Of courſe, it came to paſs, once on a time, that the lady found her health conſiderably diſordered, and in ſo particular a manner, that ſhe was ſure her huſband muſt know it, and that his own could not be in a much better condition. Being a woman of ſenſe, and ſpirit, and addreſs, ſhe took an opportunity to remonſtrate with him, pretty ſharply, on the injury that he had done her. He, being a thoroughly well-bred man, as well as a moſt affectionate huſband, heard her out with the moſt polite and patient attention; and when ſhe had done, "My dear," ſaid he, "that there is a Pox in "the family is pretty plain; but as to how it came into it,—I be-"lieve we had better let that point reſt."

The general tenor of the private letter, from end to end, ſhows, much better than any particular extracts of it can do, the inveterate and increaſing rancour that prevailed in the Royal College of Surgeons; the intolerable height to which it had come; the total deſtruction of all private harmony among its members; and, in ſome meaſure, the nature and ſubjects of their diſputes: but, for the gratification of the curious, I have marked, by marginal numbers, a few paſſages, the moſt characteriſtic and expreſſive of thoſe things.

things. From the paſſages (29, 30.) it is plain, that profeſſional hatred and jealouſy had its own ſhare, as was to be expected, in exciting ſuch bitter animoſity. But from the paſſages (1, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27,32.) it is equally plain, that their profeſſional animoſity was further embittered by dirty politics, as they are called; that is, by ſordid malignant corporation-diſputes about loaves and fiſhes. It is impoſſible to read the paſſage (28) without feeling for the cruel ſituation of the indignant Fellow Member: it is horrible to think that a man of his pure diſintereſted benevolence; of his high ſenſe of honour and probity; of his warm zeal for the advancement of ſcience in general, and for the improvement of his own profeſſion in particular; and withal of ſuch exalted notions of the dignity of his profeſſion, and the glories of his Royal College, derived from ſo many charters, ſhould be reduced to the ſad neceſſity of herding with ſuch a parcel of fellows as he declares his brethren to be; a ſet of fellows, who had abſolutely forgotten the Ten Commandments; ſo completely and notoriouſly forgotten them, that he uſed that compariſon, as the beſt he could think of, to give ſome notion how completely they had forgotten what a vote or a promiſe was. Then to ſee ſo great and good a man attempting to reform ſuch a ſet of miſcreants, and to rouſe them to any thing great, or good, or honourable, muſt excite, in every perſon, admiration blended with pity; admiration for his glowing zeal, and pity for his hopeleſs undertaking; compared to which the labour of Hercules, in cleanſing the Augean ſtable, was but a morning's paſtime. This author's deſperate attempt is evidently of the ſame kind with that of calcining ice into gunpowder, or of extracting ſun-beams from cucumbers.

It will be eaſier, in the courſe of nature, to make a thouſand new men, than to mend even one of thoſe unpromiſing ſubjects that he had to do with.

Without

Without the help of profound logic, or any very laborious or minute diſcuſſion, they may almoſt gueſs what the public would think of their Royal College, on reading that private printed letter: or if not, they will underſtand it at once by conſidering a ſimilar caſe. Some fourſcore years ago all the wits and all the wiſe men of Dublin were poſed to underſtand how it came to paſs that a certain clergyman's nails were always black and dirty. Stella, Swift's good friend, explained it at once, by obſerving that it was with ſcratching himſelf.

The paſſages marked (14, 15, and 16.) deſerve peculiar attention, and require a very ample commentary; as when duly conſidered they afford the moſt convincing proof of that kind of manners and warfare, which, as I have already ſtated, prevailed in the Royal College before Mr John Bell was a member of it; and which, it now appears by the private letter, had not ceaſed in ſummer 1798; twelve good years after he was a member of the College, and only two years before my Memorial came forth. The indignant Fellow Member has indeed been very happy in the delicate general expreſſion, *loathſome exceſſes*, which he employs to denote that deteſtable practice of brawling. This expreſſion is the more delicate and dignified, that it is ambiguous. It may be underſtood to mean only the common phyſical effects of exceſſive drinking, on the human ſtomach; which Cicero, in his own coarſe ſtyle, has expreſſed in the well known words, *a tertia hora, bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur:* and more fully in another place, *aliquod Lapitharum aut Centaurorum convivium ferebatur: in quo nemo poteſt dicere, utrum iſte plus biberit, an vomuerit, an effuderit. Torquati rara gloria*, ſays Pliny, *non labaſſe ſermone, non levatum vomitione, non altera corporis parte, dum biberet; matutinas obiſſe vigilias, plurimum hauſiſſe uno potu*, &c. But indeed the ſentiments expreſſed by the indignant Fellow Member amply explain what kind of exceſſes he meant. Far from wondering that men exaſperated by ſuch ſentiments of one another, ſhould come

come to blows, as ſoon as they got drunk, or even ſooner; the wonder is, that they did not eat one another on the ſpot, like King Duncan's horſes; who ſeem indeed to have been very ſpirited beaſts.

The moſt extraordinary circumſtance in or about that private letter, or perhaps in all the diſputes that have prevailed in the Royal College, is, that a perſon knowing what the majority of his brethren was, ſhould wiſh to have their convivial, or as he calls them, *public* meetings continued. Any prudent man, of a peaceable diſpoſition, and above all a ſkilful Surgeon, who knows the extreme danger of a fractured ſkull, and the precarious ſucceſs of the operation of the trepan, I ſhould think, could no more wiſh to dine or ſup in ſuch company, than to partake of a banquet with a Royal College of Tygers; where he could not fail to know, that, long before he was half ſeas over, his right-hand neighbour would probably take it into his head to eat him raw, as a man would eat an oyſter. I ſuſpect more was meant than has yet appeared or been avowed, by that unaccountable eagerneſs to continue or to renew thoſe convivial brawls, and that the majority of the Society had ſome prudential reaſons, connected with certain notions of perſonal ſafety, for ſo peremptorily putting an end to them.

It muſt be obſerved, that though the author of the private letter had raſhly ſaid, (15), that thoſe loathſome exceſſes had *abſolutely ceaſed*, yet in a few lines after, (16), he very properly corrects that little ſlip of his pen, and tells us only, that they had *well nigh ceaſed*. Such a correction of his own text, muſt give to every reader a high notion of his ſtrict accuracy and veracity. *Well nigh ceaſed*, ſeems to me to mean, *ſtill continued*: but if they had *abſolutely ceaſed*, ſuch a private letter, or even one ſentence *viva voce* from the author of it, would have been forty times more than enough to renew them with more inveteracy than ever.

It is impoſſible to read what he has ſaid, (15), without ſharing his indignation at his Brethren, for uſing thoſe loathſome exceſſes

as

as a *pretence* for putting an end to the convivial meetings, at which they occurred; for this was adding inſult to injury.

Every body knows, that by a *pretence* is meant, not only a falſe reaſon or argument, but one publicly declared, in order to conceal ſomething *worſe*, more diſgraceful, and leſs fit to be known or avowed: as for example, " Hold your tongue, Sir," ſaid a great orator, in an altercation with one of inferior genius, " don't we " all know that your wife, under *pretence* of keeping a bawdy-" houſe, is a receiver of ſtolen goods."

But I doubt whether the cutting off their convivial ſuppers was ſo great an injury to the Fellow Member and his Brethren as they ſuppoſed; or at leaſt whether it was meant as ſuch an injury. If the true purpoſe of it was not fully explained to them, no doubt they muſt have ſhared the indignation, the anguiſh, and the deſpair of Sancho Panza, the firſt day that he dined in public in his government of Barrataria, and found a Doctor at his elbow, who conjured away every good diſh that appeared on his table, and adviſed him to dine on a wafer and a ſlice of marmalade.

I have generally found that my patients, when I adviſe them to abridge their diet, look ſour at me; and many of them, I am ſure, have never forgiven me for urging that wholeſome advice.

I had not the honour to be of the conſultation which determined upon reforming the diet of the Royal College of Surgeons; nor do I know who aſſiſted at it: but I ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that a certain pale-faced water-drinking gentleman, who ſhall be nameleſs, was at the bottom of it.

At any rate, I am ſure I ſhall not be ſuſpected either of falſehood or flattery, when I declare, that I think the reform was very neceſſary and judicious. No better phyſical means could be deviſed, to put an end to thoſe loathſome exceſſes, which had become ſuch an intolerable abomination.

It is but fair to ſuppoſe that they all knew well and believed the important Aphoriſms of Hippocrates on the ſubject of diet:

His qui in circuitibus exacerbantur (particularly about the times of annual Corporation and Borough Elections) *nihil dare oportet, neque cogere*, (that is, let there be no cramming of them), *ſed auferre de oppoſitionibus, ante judicationes.* 1. 19.;—*Si ex morbo cibum capiens quis non fiat validus, ſignificat quod corpus uberiore alimento utitur. Si vero cibum non capienti hoc contingat, noſſe oportet quod evacuatione opus habet.* 2. 8. *Quicunque morbi ex repletione fiunt, evacuatio ſanat.* 2. 22.; and above all, *Impura corpora quanto magis nutries tanto magis lædes.* 2. 10. Surely if ever there was a foul body in this world, full of the fouleſt humours, performing daily the fouleſt actions, and loaded with the fouleſt reproaches, it muſt have been the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, at the very time when the Author of the private letter was ſo enraged at the very needful and wholeſome abridging of their full diet.

Any of them, who were men of reading, might even be ſuppoſed to have known the philoſophical principles of that part of Dietetics, as explained in Prior's Alma.

The plaineſt man alive may tell ye,
Her ſeat of empire is the Belly:
From hence ſhe ſends out thoſe ſupplies,
Which make us either ſtout or wiſe:
The ſtrength of every other member
Is founded on your Belly-timber:
The qualms or raptures of your blood
Riſe in proportion to your food.
Your ſtomach makes your fabric roll,
Juſt as the bias rules the bowl.
That great Achilles might employ
The ſtrength deſign'd to ruin Troy,

He

He dined on lions marrow, ſpreaa
On toaſts of ammunition-bread:
But by his mother ſent away,
Amongſt the Thracian girls to play,
Effeminate he ſat and quiet:
Strange product of a cheeſe-cake diet.
Obſerve the various operations
Of food and drink in ſeveral nations.
Was ever Tartar fierce or cruel
Upon the ſtrength of water-gruel?
But who ſhall ſtand his rage and force,
If firſt he rides, then eats his horſe?
Sallads and eggs, and lighter fare,
Tune the Italian ſpark's guitar:
And if I take Dan Congreve right,
Pudding and beef make Britons fight.

But from the truly ſcientific accuracy with which that very needful and ſalutary change of regimen was conducted, particularly the well-judged diſtinction of allowing the Royal College its public breakfaſts, taking away only its carnivorous and Bacchanalian meals; it is plain to me, that the members of the conſultation had gone to the very fountainhead of all ſound doctrine concerning the diet of patients: I mean Pythagoras; whoſe original writings are unfortunately loſt; but, happily for mankind, the ſubſtance of them has been preſerved, and made immortal in the elegant poems of Ovid.

——————— *Primuſque animalia menſis*
Arcuit imponi: primus quoque talibus ora
Docta quidem ſolvit, ſed non et credita, verbis.
Parcite, mortales, dapibus temerare nefandis

Corpora. Sunt fruges, ſunt deducentia ramos
Pondere poma ſuo, tumidæque in vitibus uvæ:
Sunt herbæ dulces: ſunt quæ miteſcere flamma,
Mollirique queant. Nec vobis lacteus humor
Eripitur, nec mella thymi redolentia florem.
Prodiga divitias alimentaque mitia tellus
Suggerit; atque epulas ſine cæde et ſanguine præbet.
Carne feræ ſedant jejunia: nec tamen omnes;
Quippe equus, et pecudes, armentaque, gramine vivunt.
At quibus ingenium eſt immanſuetumque ferumque,
Armeniæ Tigres, iracundique Leones,
Cumque Lupis Urſi, dapibus cum ſanguine gaudent.

It is plain from the ſtrong general recommendation of vegetable aliment of all kinds, and above all, from the ſpecific mention of milk and honey, that Pythagoras had in view preciſely ſuch meals as our good Scotch breakfaſts. Never was the ſoundneſs of thoſe precepts better illuſtrated, or his philoſophy more triumphantly eſtabliſhed, than by the inſtantaneous and almoſt miraculous effect of his wholeſome vegetable diet on that foul carnivorous body for which it was ordered.

To the beſt of my knowledge and belief, and I have been at ſome pains to make the proper inquiries, not one ſlap on the face, or kick on the breech, has been adminiſtered, at any meeting of the Royal College of Surgeons, or even by any Member of that College to another, at an accidental meeting, or in conſultation, ſince that change of diet took place. Yet during this long period, now of more than four years, and indeed very ſoon after the College was put on that vegetable diet, very deciſive experiments were made, which afforded the ſtrongeſt poſſible proof of its wonderful efficacy.

On

On this point, the private letter, already printed verbatim, and amply diſcuſſed, may be conſidered as an *experimentum crucis*. The author of it flouriſhes, and long may he flouriſh as an example to his Brethren, in ſafety, honour, and proſperity.

But there was a time, when ſuch an author, before he could have uttered half a ſentence of ſuch a Philippic, would have been kicked, knocked down, and put head foremoſt into the fire. Then every body knows, that during the laſt two years there have been in the Royal College the keeneſt debates that ever were known, conducted with infinite ſpirit and eloquence, and expreſſed in " words far bitterer than wormwood, that would in Job or " Grizel ſtir mood." But all this clapperclawing, which, but a few years before, would have produced many blows and much bloodſhed, has terminated (I mean has produced, for no body knows when, how, or if ever it will terminate) in a few ſpirited lawſuits, which do harm to nobody, and much good to the gentlemen of the long robe. They have alſo afforded much, and I hope will afford much more amuſement to the public. I am ſo thoroughly convinced of the wholeſome influence of the Pythagorean diet on that Royal College, that, if the Members of it will faithfully adhere to the ſame tea and coffee regimen for only five and twenty or thirty years, I ſhall not be much afraid to drink tea with them: but in the mean time I ſhould think that rather imprudent; and I am ſure they will conſider me as a perſon *d'une aimable abſence*.

I know that another article of regimen, by many ſuppoſed to be of great importance, was duly attended to at their public Pythagorean breakfaſts; I mean the ſoothing influence of muſic; which I, for want of muſical ear, cannot judge of; but thoſe who can, and who have fairly tried its effects, conſider as a great article of the *regimen mentis quod medicorum eſt*. Muſic, ſays the Mourning Bride,

hath

hath charms to ſoothe a ſavage breaſt, to ſoften rocks, and bend a knotted oak.

Certain it is, that, with the help of a good band of muſic, their public breakfaſts, even in times of the greateſt animoſity, paſſed with all the gentleneſs and tranquillity of the annual meetings of the good people commonly called Quakers.

Quid mirum? ubi illis carminibus ſtupens
Demittit atras bellua centiceps
Aures, et intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues.

My curioſity was much excited to know how they contrived to obviate the well-known dangerous effects of the Bagpipe; which, to all true Scottiſh ears, has charms far more delightful than the harp of Orpheus, the lyre of Apollo, or the organ of St Cecilia.

But, beſides its peculiar merit as a muſical inſtrument, it is well known to be the moſt powerful military bellows that ever was invented; at leaſt it is ſo to all good Scotchmen: for if there be but one ſpark of military ardour, as generally there are a good many, in a Scottiſh breaſt, the drone of the bagpipe never fails to blow it up to a flame, forty times more fierce than ever raged in Carron furnace.

This, the Ghoſts of Bonaparte's invincible Legion, if they were produced in the Phantaſmagoria, will readily teſtify upon oath: as they cannot have forgotten, how ill they fared when oppoſed to the FORTY-SECOND. While we do juſtice to the valour of all the Britiſh troops on that memorable occaſion, we muſt not forget that much honour is due to the Bagpipe.

I ſhould have trembled for the honour of Pythagoras and his regimen, if the bagpipe had been introduced at the public breakfaſts of the Royal College: but moſt judiciouſly and happily it was ſuppreſſed;

preſſed; and no queſtions were aſked about it, by any Fellow of the Royal College.—But " Even in their aſhes live their wonted " fires." As I ſhould be very ſorry to lead any of them into an error, which might be fatal; I think it right to warn them that, within theſe two years, I heard a very reſpectable ſenior member of their College declare loudly in the open ſtreet, ſo that I am ſure he did not mean it to be a ſecret, that if it came to a *Pugnum* at any of their meetings, he was reſolved to ſeize by the legs the ſmalleſt Fellow of their College, and to uſe him as a club or a bludgeon to defend himſelf, and annoy his enemies. A moſt horrible expedient certainly: worſe than whipping them with ſcorpions: and I mention it here, that all whom it concerns may be on their guard; eſpecially thoſe who are under the middle ſize.—A *Pugnum*, I underſtand, was the technical word, in their Royal College, for what is called in England a *Battle Royal*, and in Ireland a *Row*. Whether it be derived from *Pugnus* a fiſt, or from *Pugna* a battle, *Grammatici certant, et adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.* I humbly conjecture that it comes from them both: and Cicero himſelf declares that he could not diſcover whether *Pugnus* was derived from *Pugna*, or *Pugna* from *Pugnus*.

It is wonderful to obſerve, that Mr John Bell, and the indignant Fellow Member, while they contradict one another flatly, on every point relating to the character, the conduct, and the profeſſional merits, of the individual members of the Royal College of Surgeons, do yet agree perfectly in expreſſing the higheſt eſteem, affection, and veneration, for the ſaid Royal College, as a body corporate. Though by the by I doubt whether the Fellow Member knew what it was; and at leaſt Mr John Bell has given the moſt complete proof, even by his own definition of it, printed in Roman capitals in the 9th page of his ſecond ſection, that he knew no more

more about it than he does about the colleges in the planet Jupiter. " What is a College? as it relates to you and to your Infirmary? " A College is a conſtitutional barrier againſt the intruſion of ig- " norant, unworthy, or unprincipled men, into a profeſſion which " ſhould be ever ſacred; and this barrier is the ſafeguard of the " poor!"

When Don Quixote miſtook windmills for giants, and dirty inns for magnificent caſtles, he was thought inſane: yet ſurely his error was not greater than what we here find deliberately aſſerted and printed by Mr John Bell, and no leſs deliberately adopted and ſanctioned by his brethren.

Suppoſing *firſt*, for the ſake of argument, however abſurd or ridiculous it may be thought, that a College (of Surgeons) was *bona fide* meant for ſuch a barrier as he deſcribes; the *private letter*, whether it be a ſeries of the pureſt truths, or a ſtring of the moſt villanous lies, from end to end, affords forty times more than ſufficient evidence; that the pretended barrier in queſtion does not in the leaſt anſwer the good purpoſe for which it was intended; but on the contrary, brings together, to the great annoyance of the public, of the poor, and of this Hoſpital, a parcel of the moſt *ignorant*, *unworthy*, *unprincipled* men, that ever were aſſociated. But in truth a College is no more ſuch a metaphorical barrier as he pretends, than it is literally a paliſado, or a ditch, a redoubt, or a baſtion. A College, as I ſhould have thought every body muſt have known, is a ſociety or aſſemblage of individuals, legally eſtabliſhed and recogniſed; often incorporated by Royal Charter, on which account many of them have the title of Royal Colleges. Such Colleges, being conſtituted for very different purpoſes, muſt conſiſt of very different kinds of Members.

Thus there is a College of Cardinals in the Roman Catholic church; a College of Electors, and a College of Princes in Germany; Colleges of ſchool-boys, as at Eton and Weſtminſter; Colleges of learned

learned men, and of young men who are ſuppoſed to receive inſtruction from them, as at Oxford, Cambridge, and all other Univerſities; a College of old ſoldiers, as at Chelſea; a College of heralds; a College of clergymen, and old women, and old men, as in Sion College, London. All Colleges, legally conſtituted, have certain rights, powers, and privileges, which the members compoſing them individually have not, ſome of which privileges, rights, and powers may be highly honourable, as well as advantageous, to the individual members of ſuch Colleges. But there cannot be a greater miſtake than to ſuppoſe that the name of College, or the title of Royal College, ſhould confer on the individual members of any Society of Phyſicians or Surgeons, any honour, or dignity, any talents, knowledge, or virtues, which they did not poſſeſs before; or ſhould procure to them from the public any degree of eſtimation and confidence, which their own perſonal and profeſſional merits could not procure them. On the contrary, nothing but ſuch merits in the individual members of their Societies can make their titles of Royal Colleges reſpectable, or prevent them from becoming ridiculous.

The name of College had been ſo long and generally given to ſocieties of learned men, that when the Phyſicians, firſt of London, and afterwards of Edinburgh, were incorporated by charter, the name of College was given to their Society, rather than that of corporation or company; which had long been generally given to the various incorporated ſocieties of mechanics and tradeſmen. Some ſuch diſtinction and pre-eminence ſeems to have been well-merited by the Phyſicians both of London and Edinburgh, at the time when they reſpectively obtained their Royal Charters: for all of them were men of learned and liberal education; and many of them were diſtinguiſhed by ſuperior learning and talents, and by their proficiency in various branches of ſcience, and equally reſpectable for their perſonal merit, their liberal manners, and their

profeſſional ſkill. Not being an antiquarian, I cannot ſpecify exactly the time at which the Phyſicians of England firſt became diſtinguiſhed in theſe reſpects; nor am I ſufficiently acquainted with all the circumſtances that contributed to give them that diſtinction, and to procure for their profeſſion in general, and for themſelves individually, unleſs they forfeited it by their own perſonal miſconduct, a degree of public eſtimation and reſpect, which neither Phyſicians nor Phyſic ever yet obtained in any other country in the world. But I have no doubt that it muſt have proceeded chiefly from the ſuperior merit of ſome individuals in England, who had embraced the profeſſion of phyſic; for no other human means could have produced ſuch an effect.

I believe, too, that honourable rank in public eſtimation, which they have long preſerved in England, was in a great meaſure obtained ſoon after the revival of letters.

From a circumſtance, trivial in itſelf, and which few people now-a-days think of attending to, it is plain, that the Phyſicians in England, who were men of learned education and liberal manners, were anxious to eſtabliſh a diſtinction between themſelves and the common herd of Medical Practitioners, who had neither the education of ſcholars, nor the ſentiments or manners of gentlemen.

At the time to which I allude, when mankind were but juſt beginning to emerge from the darkeſt and moſt barbarous ignorance, the ſuperiority conferred by a learned and liberal education muſt have been infinitely greater than at preſent, when knowledge is much more generally diffuſed; and when the moſt uſeful knowledge is made acceſſible even to thoſe who know no other language but their mother tongue. But in thoſe days, as in our own, the chief advantage of a liberal education, was not the ſuperior knowledge acquired by peruſing the " ample page, rich

" with

" with the ſpoils of time," but the great and permanent improvement of the mental faculties themſelves.

Adde quod ingenuas didiciſſe fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros.

The name aſſumed by thoſe learned and eminent men of our profeſſion, who firſt raiſed it to ſuch high eſtimation in England, is a proof of what they thought themſelves, and wiſhed to be thought by their countrymen. They called themſelves *Phyſicians*, which properly ſignifies men verſed in the knowledge of nature, and certainly bears no relation whatever to the trade of curing diſeaſes. They wiſhed to be diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar herd of thoſe who practiſed the ſame trade, and to be regarded as philoſophers and men of ſcience, who endeavoured to apply their knowledge to that good purpoſe. Their pretenſions ſeem to have been in ſome meaſure admitted; and at leaſt the appellation by which they choſe to be diſtinguiſhed, was ſoon univerſally adopted by their countrymen, though equally different from the old Engliſh name of men of their profeſſion, and from their appellation in every other language. In old Engliſh, before the revival of letters, and, I believe, both in the Saxon and the Celtic languages, we were called *Leeches:* a word which, in this, its original and proper ſenſe, has been quite obſolete for two or three hundred years; and all over England is underſtood to denote excluſively one of our humbleſt auxiliaries; the ugly black water-inſect, which we occaſionally employ as a bloodſucker.

I have no doubt that the lucky conceit, of ſubſtituting the term *Phyſician* for *Leech*, contributed much to raiſe our profeſſion in the eſtimation of the good people of England, juſt as the correſponding ſubſtitution of the word *Intereſt* for *Uſury*, very ſoon reconciled them to making profit by lending money; which,

while the ſame thing went by the odious name of uſury, was regarded as infamous, and criminal in the higheſt degree. Perhaps I refine in my ſpeculations, when I ſay, that a charter, eſtabliſhing a Royal College of Leeches, would at any time have been ridiculous: but I am ſure there is no refinement in ſaying, that if Henry VIII. had eſtabliſhed, inſtead of a company or corporation, a Royal College of Barber-Surgeons in London, ſuch a College, and every individual member of it, would have been laughed at: and that if Charles II. a year or two after conſtituting the Phyſicians of Edinburgh a Royal College, had graciouſly conferred the ſame honour on the Barber-Surgeons of this city, it would have been underſtood that that facetious Monarch meant it as a joke upon the Phyſicians.

I cannot help thinking, that there would have been ſomething abſurd and ridiculous, in conferring the title Royal College on a company of ſuch illiterate and illiberal men as Deacon Kennedy and his friends; whoſe memorial in 1737, and whoſe conduct towards the Managers of the Infirmary, have been amply diſcuſſed already. But I can ſee nothing abſurd or ridiculous in the title of Royal College, by our preſent Sovereign conferred firſt on the Company of Surgeons in Edinburgh, and afterwards on their brethren in London.

The reaſon of this difference in the ſentiments with which the ſame title, conferred on the ſame ſocieties, at different times, would have been regarded by the public, is very plain. The buſineſs of the Phyſician had become a learned and liberal profeſſion, while that of the Surgeon continued a low mechanical art, practiſed by illiterate and vulgar men: but gradually, though ſlowly, and chiefly in the courſe of the laſt century, the art of Surgery has been much improved, has been cultivated on ſcientific principles, and has been practiſed by many men of liberal education and manners. In conſequence of this, not only the profeſ-

ſion

ſion in general, but many individuals who practiſe it, have riſen greatly, and I hope ſhall long continue to riſe in public eſtimation; notwithſtanding the degrading effect of Deacon Kennedy's memorial, and of the indignant Fellow Member's private letter, and the ſtill more debaſing influence of Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me; approved and ſanctioned by ſo many of his brethren. Such compoſitions muſt infallibly decide the character and rank which the authors of them, and their approvers and abettors, are to hold in the world: and to them their works will ſtick, like a Leproſy, never to be cleanſed, till the Ethiopian learns to change his ſkin, and the leopard his ſpots.

While from theſe evident cauſes Surgery has riſen, Phyſic from the oppoſite, but no leſs evident cauſes, has ſunk in public eſtimation. Very many phyſicians, in this iſland, have had no advantages in point of learned and liberal education; and of courſe deſpiſe moſt heartily ſuch education, and take care to expreſs very freely their contempt of it. Still worſe, they frequently take occaſion to convince the world, by their writings, that they are profoundly ignorant of the firſt principles of ſcience, and even of grammar. I think it more than poſſible, that, in fifty or an hundred years, the buſineſs of a Phyſician will not be regarded, even in England, as either a learned or a liberal profeſſion. And in the mean time it is plain that there muſt be an end of all dreams of the ſuperior dignity of that branch of the profeſſion which is called Phyſic, in oppoſition to Surgery: for certainly no ſuch ſuperiority will be acknowledged by mankind; nor any dignity or diſtinction among Phyſicians and Surgeons, but what fairly and neceſſarily reſults from their own perſonal and profeſſional merits, and from the various ſituations and circumſtances in which they and their patients are placed. Thoſe worthy members of ſociety, who enjoy excellent health, but whoſe buſineſs leads them to go much in the way of cannon or even muſket-balls, will

will certainly, and with good reaſon, conſider Surgeons as more uſeful, and therefore more important and dignified perſonages, than Phyſicians, whoſe ſervices they can generally diſpenſe with. While thoſe graver and wiſer perſonages, who have prudence enough to keep out of the way of ſuch balls, but not to keep out of the way of good eating and drinking, will ſoon learn due reſpect for our branch of the Faculty.

The firſt Phyſicians by Debauch were made;
Exceſs begun, and Sloth ſuſtains the Trade:

Which, ſo begun, and ſo ſuſtained, I hold to be a ſurer fund than the Three per Cent. Conſols; and much more likely to ſurvive the ſhocks of revolutions, and all the horrors of foreign and of civil war.

But whenever Phyſicians or Surgeons ſeek to derive importance and honour, from being Fellows of a Royal College, inſtead of doing honour to that title by their own perſonal and profeſſional conduct, they will infallibly make themſelves and their title objects of contempt and deriſion.

A charter from his Majeſty may, in a moment, eſtabliſh in this city, a Royal College of Chimney-Sweepers: and if this were done, no doubt the good people of Edinburgh would find unſpeakable comfort, in having their chimneys ſwept, juſt as at preſent they do in getting their pulſes felt, and their legs cut off, by the Preſident and Fellows of a Royal College. Yet I do not believe our chimneys would be better ſwept than they have hitherto been; but there can be no doubt, that the Preſident and Fellows of that Sable College would entertain very high notions of their own perſonal and profeſſional dignity; and yet they would be, without one exception, the ſame vulgar, ignorant, dirty fellows, that they are at preſent.

With

With reſpect to the third and laſt period of chirurgical warfare in this city, extending from the time when my former Memorial was diſtributed, to the preſent hour; though during it the inveterate ſpirit of party among the Surgeons has not produced thoſe terrible exploſions, or loathſome exceſſes, as one of their own indignant Fellow Members is pleaſed to call them, which uſed frequently to occur in former times at their convivial and other meetings; thanks to the tea and coffee regimen to which the Royal College has been confined during the whole of this moſt trying period: we yet have ample proof, that the ſame noble ſpirit, under a different form, has continued to burn with unabated flame.

The public is already ſo well acquainted, both with the general tenor, and with many particular inſtances, of their party proceedings, that to enlarge on them here would be ſuperfluous, and even improper. Moſt of them have already appeared in print; and thoſe printed documents of them have been handed about with great aſſiduity and perſeverance. Firſt the public was regaled with obſervations, addreſſes, remarks, and plans for the better management of the chirurgical department of the Hoſpital. All that could be learned with certainty from theſe was, that the ſyſtem of the indiſcriminate attendance of the Surgeons on any plan of rotation, which one party contended for as right and proper in every reſpect, good for the Surgeons, and beneficial to the patients; was, by the other party, reprobated in the ſtrongeſt terms, as abſolutely irreconcileable with the good of the Hoſpital.

Both parties muſt have known perfectly the truth, and muſt often have been eye-witneſſes of the good or bad effects of that mode of attendance, which one of them wiſhed to preſerve, and the other to aboliſh. There could be no *miſtake*, therefore, on either

either ſide: the one party muſt have known perfectly that the other was ſaying the thing which was not: and I dare ſay, Hogarth himſelf would have been well pleaſed to have been raiſed from the dead, though but for half an hour, juſt to have made a few ſketches of the countenances of the hoſtile parties, as they ſurveyed one another in battle array.

The Managers of the Infirmary, and the public at large, cannot be embarraſſed by that groſs and irreconcileable contradiction of the two contending parties among the Surgeons. If all the arguments and illuſtrations that I have urged, both in my former Memorial and in this one; if the common ſenſe of mankind; if the conduct of the Managers of other Hoſpitals in the appointment of Phyſicians and Surgeons to them; if the conduct of the Managers of this Infirmary at its firſt inſtitution; if the conduct of the majority of the Surgeons at that time; and the very arguments which they uſed, with ſucceſs, to get that odious ſyſtem eſtabliſhed, which now, after ſixty years experience of its badneſs, is happily aboliſhed; be not ſufficient to ſhew on which ſide the truth is; nay, if all theſe conſiderations were to go for nothing in this diſcuſſion; ſtill the unanimous reſolution of the Surgeons themſelves, 9th Auguſt 1784, muſt ſhew, *indiſputably*, which of the two parties is entitled to credit on the preſent occaſion.

As it was manifeſtly impoſſible for them to make any impreſſion on one another by reaſon and argument, and as the *argumentum baculinum* was precluded by the wholeſome influence of their Pythagorean diet, no reſource was left them, but to go to Law. To Law they went accordingly, with a ſpirit and inveteracy worthy of their former renown.

Scarce was the firſt general lawſuit well begun, the one I mean between the College of Surgeons and the Managers of the Infirmary, when out of it there grew another lawſuit. Mr John Bell, having dreamed a dream, whether ſleeping or waking does not appear,

pèar, nor is it of any conſequence, ſomething about ſome peculiar perſonal right that he, *qua* individual John Bell, had to attend, and conſult, and operate, in the Infirmary; of courſe went to law with the Managers, on the force of the ſaid dream. This indeed is not at all wonderful; for it ſeems to have been a lively and moſt delightful dream: pretty much the reverſe of Dido's dreary, diſmal, horrid dream, when ſhe was forſaken by that ungrateful vagabond Æneas.

——————" *Semperque relinqui*
Sola ſibi, ſemper longam incomitata videtur
Ire viam, et Tyrios deſerta quærere terra."

It is impoſſible not to lament, both for his own ſake and that of the public, that ſo enchanting a dream ſhould have paſſed away ſo ſoon, or indeed that it ſhould ever have paſſed away.

" How weary, ſtale, flat, and unprofitable," muſt ſeem to him all the uſes of this world, when compared with thoſe rapturous viſions of univerſal benevolence and love to mankind, of the boundleſs improvement of Surgery, and the endleſs glories of his profeſſion, " *quorum pars magna fuit.*" " Where ignorance is bliſs, 'tis folly to " be wiſe." If he was aſleep when he ſaw that glorious viſion, he ought never to have wakened: if he was awake, he ought never to have ſlept again; "All his functions ſuiting, with forms, to his " conceit, and all for nothing."

Yet it cannot be ſaid, that in the preſent inſtance, the " baſe- " leſs fabric of a viſion leaves not a wreck behind:" It has left " *monumentum ære perennius*," in the form of an excellent and moſt eloquent law-paper; written by Mr George Joſeph Bell, John's brother, and entitled, " Memorial for John Bell and Charles Bell, " Members of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, againſt " the Managers of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh." This lit-

tle Memorial, which, excluſive of its Appendix, contains only 78 quarto pages, is well worth " *multorum camelorum onus* " of ordinary law-papers. It certainly was not the fault of their Lawyer, that the two brothers did not win their cauſe triumphantly, with full coſts, and damages: for no body, I am ſure, can read that Memorial, without great admiration of the author's ingenuity and eloquence. But there was ſomething wanting to make it effectual, and ſomething which neither ingenuity nor eloquence can ſupply. When Archimedes undertook to move the world with his foot, he very wiſely made it a condition, that he ſhould have ſome place to ſtand upon. Now ſomething of this kind, like a fulcrum to a great lever, I conceive to be neceſſary to give the moſt ingenious law-paper, or the moſt eloquent pleading, any effect, in moving a court of juſtice, or ſhaking even ſuch a little world as that of Edinburgh. The delightful dream on which it was founded, was plainly inſufficient for this purpoſe.

That Memorial has alſo the merit of being the beſt expoſition, and moſt ample commentary, that can be deſired or conceived, on Mr John Bell's doctrine delivered in his Anſwer to me. As it made a part of the proceedings in the Supreme Court of Juſtice in this country, I preſume it would be improper, perhaps might be deemed a contempt of court, to offer any remarks on the arguments that it contains; even if this were wanted, which certainly is not the caſe now; that lawſuit having been given up, as ſoon as the dream on which it was founded had paſſed away. But on the well-known principle, " *Tractant fabrilia fabri, promittunt me-* " *dici quod medicorum eſt*," I hope I ſhall not be deemed guilty of any impropriety, when I make ſome phyſical remarks on it.

It appears from the whole tenor, nay even from the very *title* of that Memorial, that Mr Charles Bell had dreamed, *verbatim et literatim*, the ſame dream which his elder brother had dreamed. This, if the dream had gone no farther, might be attributed to

their

their being both of the ſame education and profeſſion, Surgeons. But it appears plainly that a third brother, a lawyer, of totally different education, profeſſion, and habits of reading and thinking, has alſo dreamed the ſame dream, without the leaſt variation. This can proceed from nothing but a ſtrong innate family-likeneſs; and muſt be conſidered as a very ſtriking example of the force of that principle; at leaſt as ſplendid as that of the three brothers, of my kindred, who were Profeſſors of Mathematics at the ſame time; or as that of the three noble noſeleſs brothers, who flouriſhed in England in the reign of Charles II.

From the uncommon ſpirit, ingenuity, and eloquence, with which that Memorial is written, totally unlike the dry, laborious, ponderous argument of a lawyer, who pleads a cauſe that he knows to be bad, merely to earn his fee; there can be no doubt that the author of it was perfectly in earneſt; that is, that he had dreamed the ſame dream with his brothers; elſe ſurely, inſtead of arguing their cauſe for them, he would have prevented them from engaging in ſuch a lawſuit: and it is equally plain, that, as ſoon as the dream was at an end, they deſiſted from their lawſuit, without even waiting for the deciſion of the court. This ſurely their brother and lawyer would not have allowed, if the dream had continued with him, after it had ceaſed with them. If there had been three hundred brothers of the Bellian race, I have not a doubt that all of them would have dreamed exactly the ſame dream. But if three thouſand men, of talents, education, and knowledge, equal to theirs, or even greater, were to dream ſtraight forwards, without interruption, for three thouſand centuries, I do not believe that any one of them could dream one iota of it, any more than he could dream Homer's Iliad, Newton's Principia, or the Devil's Concerto.

Scarce had the Lawyers time to ſing *Te Deum* on the happy concluſion of the eighteenth century, with the beginning of a

moſt promiſing lawſuit, whoſe ending who could tell; the one I mean between the two Great Corporations, the College of Surgeons and the Managers of the Infirmary; when they were bleſſed with the birth of another lawſuit, that of Meſſ. John and Charles Bell with the ſaid Managers. Scarce had they time to hail this happy omen, that uſhered in the nineteenth century, with the faireſt promiſes that it would prove an age of gold; ſcarce could they welcome the auſpicious day that gave it to the Court,

Salve fugacis gloria ſeculi;
Salve ſecunda digna dies nota;
Salve vetuſtæ vitæ imago,
Et ſpecimen venientis ævi,

when, from the ſame unquenchable and everlaſting fire, there ſuddenly burſt forth, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, three freſh exploſions, in the form of three new lawſuits, each of them more inveterate than either of the former two. Theſe I conceive to bear the ſame relation to their common ſource, that the little volcanos, from time to time thrown up on the ſides of Mount Ætna, during a great eruption, bear to that majeſtic father of volcanos. We call them little, though each of them ſingly is greater and more tremendous than Veſuvius; becauſe they are ſmall in compariſon of their parent Ætna. The whole Court was thunderſtruck. No Member of it had powers of underſtanding, or of imagination, adequate to ſo new and ſo vaſt an object. Some of them thought it was a kind of Hydra: but there could not be a greater miſtake, or a greater indignity to this dreadful fiery monſter; compared to which, the Lernæan Hydra was but a caterpillar. Beſides, this *non deſcript* monſter did not wait, like the Hydra, till its firſt head was chopped off, before it ſhowed another and another; but came forth at once with many heads,

" fierce

" fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell;" and no doubt would have gone on, multiplying itſelf at head and tail, and back, and belly, and ſides, like a polypus, to the delight and emolument of every limb of the law in this country; had it not been for a ſudden and lamentable deficiency of the one thing needful, without which there can be no Law, no War, no Evil, and very little Phyſic: Money, money; which, " above ground, or " under, was not to be found."

Nec, quæ ſulfureis ardet fornacibus, Ætne
Ignea ſemper erit: neque enim fuit ignea ſemper.
Nempe ubi terra cibos alimentaque pinguia flammæ
Non dabit, abſumptis per longum viribus ævum,
Naturæque ſuum nutrimen deerit edaci;
Non feret illa famem: deſertaque deſeret ignes.

There is reaſon to think, that the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons, who ſo eagerly went to law, did not rightly underſtand its *Naturam edacem;* but they muſt ſoon have perceived, that, without much preſſing, or any very nice ſauce, it would eat up all the food, *alimentaque pinguia flammæ*, that have come from Peru and Chili ſince the days of Pizarro; " ever eating, " never cloying, all devouring, all deſtroying."

My collection of the law-papers already printed in the courſe of theſe lawſuits, though I am ſorry to ſay it is far from complete, amounts to more than 500 pages in quarto.

It would be very improper for me to enter into any minute diſcuſſion of cauſes not yet out of court: but there can be no harm in mentioning what the ſubjects of them have been. Two Fellows of the Royal College have proſecuted the majority of their brethren, for almoſt disfranchiſing them; at leaſt ſtriking their names out of the liſt of the Fellows who were to be allowed to vote in the

the great queſtion between their College and the Managers of the Infirmary: and the Preſident of their Royal College proſecutes eighteen Fellows of it, for ignominiouſly turning him out of his chair, and cenſuring him, in terms almoſt too groſs to mention, for ſome pretended miſconduct on his part. I ſhould not have preſumed to give here the words of ſuch a cenſure, if they had not already appeared in print, and been very generally known; nor can I even now print them, without premiſing, that the perſon ſo ignominiouſly treated by his own College, is a gentleman highly and univerſally eſteemed both for his perſonal and profeſſional character.

That vote of cenſure was in the following terms: " I am directed by the Royal College of Surgeons, of which you are Preſident, to repreſent to you from this chair, that you have (with your eyes open) trampled on our laws, which, by your ſituation as Preſident, you were bound more particularly to defend, and that your offence is highly aggravated by your conduct previous to the meeting called by the committee, as well as from the nature of the defence you urged in your own behalf; and by direction of the College, I now cenſure you, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt unequivocal manner, for ſuch conduct."

Whatever damages may be awarded him by a court of juſtice for ſuch a wrong, we have already complete evidence that it was a wrong of the groſſeſt kind, proceeding from the moſt rancorous ſpirit of party; for the ſame College, afterwards, when he went out of office, *unanimouſly* voted him its thanks for his upright and gentlemanlike conduct, as its Preſident, and for his faithful attention to the honour and intereſt of the College. Not having acceſs to their minutes, I cannot give the preciſe words of that vote of thanks; but I am well aſſured that it was expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt and moſt honourable terms, and was in ſubſtance what I have ſtated.

I am well aſſured likewiſe, that one of the other two gentlemen, who has been proſecuting them for ſtriking his name out of their liſt, has ſince that time had the honour of receiving their public thanks for his faithful and meritorious ſervices as a Member of their College.

One little ſpecimen more may ſuffice to convey ſome notion of the noble ſpirit with which their diſputes have been conducted. A Fellow of their College, ſettled in a town in England, was prevailed on to come to Edinburgh, from the diſtance of more than a hundred and fifty miles, juſt by his vote to ſettle thoſe diſputes with which their Royal College was tormented. He came to Edinburgh and voted accordingly; but had ſcarce returned, or, as ſome ſay, was only on his way returning to his home, happy no doubt in the thought of having ſo eaſily and effectually put an end to their diſputes, when he had three ſummonſes executed upon him, (*Anglicè*, had three writs ſerved on him), indicating the commencement of three ſeveral lawſuits, in which he had the agreeable ſurpriſe of finding himſelf involved for his pains, and actually under proſecution for damages to the amount of more than L. 10,000.

Such, from the moſt preciſe and authentic information, as well as from many written, and many more printed, documents, that I have ſeen, I firmly believe to have been the *facts*, in whatever words they may be expreſſed, with reſpect to the ſpirit and temper that have prevailed in the Royal College of Surgeons, and the manner in which their warfare has been carried on, during the laſt ſeven and twenty years; that is, ever ſince they were *elected* (as one of their own moſt eloquent and ſpirited writers calls it) into a Royal College, and for two years before they obtained that honour.

How

How much better or worſe they were, when aſſociated only as a corporation, I really do not know; and I ſhould think it hardly worth while to enquire. We know ſufficiently what their ſentiments, and words, and actions were, about the years 1737 and 1738; and alſo what they were between the years 1766 and 1769, the period of their ſecond and longeſt conteſt with the Managers of the Infirmary.

It is more intereſting to obſerve the ſtrange effect which their new and honourable title has had on many of the Members of that Royal College; in making them believe that they are, individually and collectively, every thing that is great, and good, and amiable, in human nature; and that their "College is a conſtitutional bar-"rier againſt the intruſion of ignorant, unworthy, or unprin-"cipled men, into a profeſſion which ſhould be ever ſacred; and "that this barrier is the ſafeguard of the poor:" and all this at the very time when they have been reviling one another moſt inveterately, as the moſt ignorant, unworthy, and unprincipled of men.

The calamitous ſituation of thoſe who have adopted ſuch ſtrange whims about the nature and purpoſe of a Royal College of Surgeons, and the importance and dignity, as well as the peculiarly amiable character which that title gives to every individual Member of ſuch a Society, muſt equally rouſe the attention of men of ſcience, eſpecially of Phyſicians, and call forth the ſtrongeſt exertions of every perſon who has any pretenſions to humanity, Chriſtian charity, or brotherly love.

It is indeed impoſſible to think of it without ſpeculating a little concerning its cauſe, and wiſhing to relieve the unhappy ſufferers, though they themſelves are inſenſible of their own misfortune. To many people it muſt appear incredible, that any individual, or any ſet of men, who can eat their victuals, and perform the common offices of nature, in a decent and cleanly manner, ſhould

ever

ever adopt ſuch notions, and perſiſt in them, in ſpite of the daily evidence of their reaſon and of their ſenſes. But ſuch things are not impoſſible: there have been many real inſtances, juſt like the well known fictitious caſe of Don Quixote, of perſons ſufficiently in their ſenſes on all ſubjects but one, and yet on that one as completely inſane as he was on knight-errantry. Examples have not been very rare of men who believed their legs to be made of ſtraw, or their poſteriors of glaſs; and who could never be ſet right on theſe points, though perfectly rational upon every other, and even very judiciouſly and tenderly careful of the ſuppoſed brittle and infirm parts of their conſtitutions. We read, in Aretæus, (chapter 6th of his firſt book on the Cauſes and Symptoms of Chronic Diſeaſes), of a ſtrange fellow, whoſe inſanity was of a very peculiar and limited kind: he was by trade a carpenter; and in his own ſhop, and while employed in his own buſineſs, as much in his ſenſes as any body. He would meaſure, and cut, and ſaw, and fit his timber very nicely; and was withal a ſhrewd fellow, who could make a bargain, or a bill, as well as any man. But the inſtant that he laid down his tools, and quitted his ſhop and his work, and turned his noſe towards the forum, he began to groan, and ſhrug his ſhoulders; and by the time he got to the forum, was *bona fide* as mad as a March hare; but always returned to his ſenſes, as ſoon as he was brought back to his ſhop: ſo that, as Aretæus ſagaciouſly obſerves, his underſtanding and his trade ſeemed to be confined within the ſame narrow limits.

If the infatuation, with reſpect to the College of Surgeons, had occurred in only one individual, I ſhould have conſidered his caſe as exactly ſimilar to that of the carpenter: but as it has affected many individuals of the ſame College at the ſame time, which is not in the common courſe of nature with reſpect to maniacal affections, I cannot think it properly referable to any known kind of mental derangement.

To adopt ſuch an unfavourable opinion of their caſe, would be the ſame, or at leaſt as uncharitable, as to regard it as a judgment upon them, for their miſdeeds done as a body to the ſick poor in the Royal Infirmary. It would be thought, that I wiſhed to repreſent it as near akin to that blindneſs, with which, on a memorable occaſion, ſome men of Sodom were ſtruck, for perſiſting in their wickedneſs.

On conſidering their caſe attentively, I had the good fortune to diſcover the real nature and cauſe of it; and I can even propoſe, with great confidence, the proper means for their relief. They will ſurely be ſenſible of their obligations to me, when they know that I have gone more than half way to the Devil on their account. Having clearly perceived, that their infatuation did not proceed from any bodily diſorder or infirmity, I was led to ſuſpect that it was a caſe of enchantment. As I am but little verſed in magic myſelf, I could not truſt to my own judgment on ſuch a point; and therefore conſulted the ſage enchanter, Merlin; who moſt obligingly conſidered their caſe with attention, and ſoon convinced me, by the moſt deciſive arguments, that it was enchantment, as real, and of the ſame kind, as that of Dulcinea del Toboſo.

The ſame kind enchanter explained to me fully how the magic ſpell might be broken: it being a ſettled point in the black art, that for every ſpell there is a counter ſpell.

The chief, or only difficulty, in breaking a ſpell, when the counter ſpell is once diſcovered, ariſes from the circumſtance, that perſons enchanted, juſt like mad perſons, and perſons in love, are very unwilling to be diſenchanted.

I fear there may be ſome ſuch difficulty in diſenchanting thoſe whoſe piteous caſe has given occaſion to theſe remarks: but the difficulty, with due care and addreſs, may be ſurmounted. The counter ſpell, or mode of diſenchanting them, is in ſubſtance the

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ſame with that which Merlin directed Sancho Panza to employ on his own perſon, in order to diſenchant Dulcinea; only *mutatis mutandis*. This being a collegiate enchantment, it is neceſſary that the ſpell for breaking it be performed publicly, and with due ſolemnity, in the Hall of the Royal College, and by the Preſident, and all the Fellows of it in rotation; in which caſe, it is demonſtrable, that it will be faithfully and ably performed; and with ſuch complete ſucceſs, that the enchanted perſons, one after another, as ſoon as number three thouſand three hundred is duly applied to the place appointed, ſhall feel themſelves not only diſenchanted *pro hac vice*, but effectually preſerved from all danger of ſuch another enchantment as long as they live. Q. E. F.

One of the moſt amuſing of Mr. John Bell's conceits, is the admirable contraſt which he draws between Phyſic and Surgery; in order to ſhow that experience, which every body allows to be highly valuable in a Phyſician, is of no conſequence, and really not needed in a Surgeon. This, to the beſt of my judgment, is the ſum and ſubſtance of his long and elaborate argument, to prove, that it can be no diſadvantage to the patients in the Hoſpital, to be treated by the youngeſt and moſt inexperienced Surgeons in rotation. It is plain, at leaſt, that nothing leſs can eſtabliſh the point for which he contends. I quote his own words, (Section 2. page 48.) in which that doctrine is moſt explicitly delivered. "He knows little indeed of our common profeſſion, "who is not ſenſible, that experience is leſs neceſſary in Surgery "than in Medical Practice, and in operations not at all. An operation is a diſſection, which he who is able to perform, is able to "perform!. Far from learning by experience, a Surgeon muſt be "perfect in operations before he preſume to touch the knife.

 "But

" But the memorialiſt is ſo ignorant in our profeſſion, that he " applies to it the rules and canons of his own: he believes that " Surgery, like Medicine, is an uncertain and ſpeculative ſcience! " he believes, that in our profeſſion, what is wiſe and learned to- " day, may be wrong and ignorant to-morrow! that our profeſ- " ſion is learnt by experience, and not by ſtudy! and finally, that " old Surgeons only can excel: though, if this were true, ours " would be a profeſſion in which no man could excel, ſince the " grey head of wiſdom is generally accompanied with a ſhaking " and faultering hand."

I have no inclination to diſpute Mr John Bell's aſſertion, that he who *is able* to perform an operation or a diſſection, *is able* to perform it; on the contrary, I admit that moſt important propoſition in its full extent; and I declare, that I think it contains more truth, than all the reſt of his pamphlet put together. It is indeed completely loaded and ſtuffed with truth. But ſtill a very important queſtion remains; namely, Who are able to perform diſſections or operations? Certainly not every man who chooſes Surgery as a profeſſion, for it is notorious, that but a very ſmall proportion of them ever become even tolerable operators; and that many of them have ſoon become ſo ſenſible of their own incapacity in that reſpect, that for the greater part of their lives, they have avoided, as much as poſſible, attempting any nice, difficult, or dangerous operation. I doubt much, whether even all the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh are equally, or nearly equally able to perform that kind of diſſection which is called an operation: the general perſuaſion of mankind moſt notoriouſly is, that they are not: as is amply teſtified by their anxiety to chooſe a ſkilful operator when themſelves or any of their families are to undergo an operation. It is not even pretended by Mr John Bell himſelf, who has ſaid ſo much of their examinations by the Royal College, that they are obliged to exhibit any ſpecimens of their manual dex-

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terity as diſſectors, or operators, in preſence of that auguſt Body, before they can become Members of it; and it is certain, that, within the memory of many people ſtill living, ſeveral of them when they had occaſion to ſhow in the Theatre of this Hoſpital how well they could diſſect a living ſubject, or as the vulgar call it, perform an operation, acquitted themſelves ſo ſcurvily, that they were ſeverely criticiſed by ſome of their own loving Brethren, as well as by a great body of Students, who witneſſed the diſſections which they attempted to perform.

I can even remember diſtinctly to have heard a moſt irreverent expreſſion applied to ſome of them, who, after repeated attempts of that kind, had withdrawn from the Hoſpital-duty: That they were hiſſed off the ſtage.

Further, granting that an operation is a diſſection, I humbly conceive that there are very different kinds of diſſections, and that many a man who can perform one kind of diſſection very well, may be a little embarraſſed at firſt if he tries his hand at another kind. Thus, the flaying and cutting up of an ox are unqueſtionably diſſections; ſo is the carving of a roaſted hare or a partridge at table: but I believe a journeyman butcher can perform thoſe diſſections of an ox, and many a fine Lady thoſe of a hare or partridge, as well as any Profeſſor of Anatomy in Europe; or even as Mr John Bell himſelf: yet both the butcher and the Lady might be much embarraſſed, if required to perform thoſe diſſections, *alias* operations, on living perſons, which are often found neceſſary in hoſpitals. That kind of diſſection, which is chiefly required in learning and teaching Anatomy, in order to ſhow diſtinctly the minute and exquiſite ſtructure of every part of the animal body, is widely different from that kind of diſſection which is neceſſary in performing Chirurgical operations. A certain degree of Anatomical knowledge is abſolutely neceſſary for operating as a Surgeon with ſafety and ſucceſs; but many Surgeons, who have had much

practice

practice and high reputation as operators, would be ſadly at a loſs, if they were required to diſſect and demonſtrate the minute ſtructure of parts, as is done in an Anatomical Theatre: and I ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that many good Anatomiſts, and expert diſſectors, would feel themſelves much embarraſſed, if they were required to operate on the living ſubject. I know not what Mr John Bell and his clients may think of the Profeſſors of Anatomy in this reſpect; but, I preſume, none of them can fancy themſelves either better Anatomiſts, or more expert diſſectors than Dr Monro's aſſiſtant Mr Fyfe; yet, I doubt whether any one of them, if he had occaſion to undergo a nice and dangerous operation, would chooſe for the operator, Mr Fyfe, rather than an experienced Surgeon.

Further, if every Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, at the hour of his admiſſion, were as good a diſſector of the living, as Mr Fyfe is of the dead, it would not follow that they were all equally well qualified for being Hoſpital Surgeons. The performing of operations, though an eſſential, is not the moſt important, part, of a Surgeon's duty and profeſſion. It is more to a Surgeon's credit to ſave one limb, than to cut off a hundred. Much of Chirurgical practice has nothing to do with diſſection: the curing of wounds and ulcers; the treatment of external inflammation and gangrene; the diſcuſſing of tumours; the reducing of ruptures and of diſlocated limbs; and the ſetting of broken bones; are daily and moſt important objects of Chirurgical practice, and ſuch as no practice nor dexterity in diſſection can teach. With due humility, I muſt beg leave to think, that a Surgeon may improve in thoſe parts of his profeſſion, juſt as a Phyſician does in his, by the help of experience.

If the ſcience of Surgery were as certain, and the practice of the art as perfect, as Mr John Bell's argument imports, there could be no diſputes or controverſies in it: indeed from ſome of his expreſſions it ſhould ſeem, that ſuch is his opinion, or at leaſt that

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ſuch is the belief which he wiſhes to impreſs on his readers. I ſuſpect, however, that this perfect agreement in opinion, if it exiſts at all, muſt be near a-kin to that of an Engliſh Jury, that I remember to have heard of. They had retired, as uſual, to conſider of their verdict; and had ſtaid ſo long, that the Judge, who tried the cauſe, and who thought it a very plain one, growing impatient, called them into Court again, and aſked them, whether they had agreed on their verdict. "Yes, my Lord," ſaid a keen little juryman, in a violent paſſion, "I am agreed, but here are "eleven obſtinate fellows that I believe will never agree." Far from believing that Mr John Bell agrees with all his brethren on every point, or even on the moſt important points, of the Theory and Practice of Surgery, I doubt much whether he agrees with the majority of them; nay whether he even agrees with all the Surgeons of his own name. Surgeons have unqueſtionably much more merit, and diſplay much higher genius, in their everlaſting profeſſional diſputes, than Phyſicians can do in theirs: for as much as the ſubjects of Chirurgical diſputes generally come under the cognizance of their ſenſes of ſight and feeling; ſo that unleſs they chooſe it, they need not truſt much to the faint and deceitful light of their own reaſon. Yet certain it is, that in defiance of their own ſenſes, they now and then commit miſtakes as groſs, and engage in diſputes as inveterate, as Phyſicians can do for their hearts. I remember, many years ago, to have heard of a miſtake and diſpute of this kind, in this city, about a Lady's arm, which one Surgeon examined and dreſſed as he thought it required. But the Lady finding no relief, or rather finding her arm growing worſe and more painful, got another Surgeon to examine it; partly I believe by accident, the former Surgeon not being to be found, when ſhe ſent for him on account of her increaſing ſufferings. The ſecond Surgeon, on examining the arm, found that one of the bones of it was broken; and accordingly

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ſet it properly, which ſoon gave her relief. But the former Surgeon would not acquieſce in this opinion or practice: nor do I believe that the two have to this hour agreed in their opinion about that caſe. Another caſe of the ſame kind, but infinitely worſe, came under my own immediate view. The unfortunate ſubject of it was a relation of my own, one of whom I had a particular charge, one who had often carried me in her arms when I was an infant. One day the man in whoſe houſe ſhe lodged came to tell me that ſhe was very ill, and had got a ſwelled leg. Going inſtantly to ſee her, I found her very ill indeed; her leg greatly ſwelled, red, highly inflamed, bent in the middle, and much ſhorter than the other; ſo that I preſume a child of ſeven years of age might have known at firſt ſight, as I did, notwithſtanding my criminal ignorance of Surgery, that the leg was broken. On enquiring into the hiſtory of the caſe, I learned that this accident had happened above a week before, by a fall on the floor of her room. It happened at night; and the perſons about her, obſerving that her leg was much hurt, got a Surgeon, a Fellow of the Royal College of this city, to ſee her next morning. He ſaw her ſeveral times, ſent her ſomething to rub her leg with, which might with equal advantage to her, have been rubbed on her bed-poſt, but made no attempt to ſet her broken leg. This neceſſarily implies one of two things; either that he did not diſcover that her leg was broken, or elſe, that, knowing it to be broken, he would rather let her periſh miſerably, than take the trouble to ſet it. The circumſtance which procured me intelligence of her miſerable ſituation was the rapid increaſe of the fever, produced by the accident, and the beginning of delirium. Shocked at ſuch an example of negligence, I ran immediately to get ſome other Surgeon to her aſſiſtance; and had not gone a hundred yards when I luckily met with one. This other Surgeon, whom for the preſent I ſhall call Dr William Farquharſon, truſting to his honour that he will not

mention

mention the name of his professional brother who was ſo *unfortunate* on that occaſion, inſtantly went with me to the patient; and on examining the leg, made me obſerve, what I had not attended to before, that not only the leg was broken, but the ſmall bone of it (*Fibula*) was diſlocated at the knee. Dr F. at firſt declined attempting to ſet the leg, not only on account of the high inflammation of it, but on account of the ſtate of general fever, which was ſo bad that he conſidered the patient (very rightly as it afterwards appeared) to be a dying perſon. However, at my earneſt entreaty, he endeavoured as ſoon as poſſible to ſet it, and I believe did it as well as it could be done; but too late to ſave her life; ſhe died in a few days with the increaſing fever and delirium. There was properly no diſpute or contradiction about that caſe; Dr F. having very prudently, before he attempted to ſet the leg, taken with him a *third* Surgeon, a particular friend of the firſt Surgeon, to ſee, and be convinced that the leg was really broken, and that the patient was likely to die of the fever produced by the fracture, which had been ſo atrociouſly neglected.

As the beſt commentary on Mr John Bell's text, about the certainty and perfection of the Science and the Art of Surgery, I ſhall mention a little incident which occurred, a few years ago, in a certain London Hoſpital.

A patient was in it under the care of the Phyſicians, on account of a very bad leg, which baffled their ſkill, and appeared to them almoſt hopeleſs; they therefore requeſted a conſultation of the Surgeons, to examine the leg, and to decide what ſhould be done with it. The Surgeons accordingly met, examined it, conſulted about it, and reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the leg could not be ſaved, and ought to be cut off. By the unerring rules of Surgery, they cut it off without delay. But, ſtrange to tell, the Phyſicians, at their next viſit, on examining the patient, found, to their great aſtoniſhment, the ſuppoſed hopeleſs leg as faſt to his body

as ever it had been. The puzzle was ſoon explained. It happened that the man had *two* legs, both of them very bad; one of them the Phyſicians thought they could ſave, the other they deſpaired of. There being but a right and a wrong, it was not very marvellous that the conſultation took the wrong. Both Phyſicians and Surgeons I believe were a little diſconcerted at that *quid pro quo*; and as it was thought rather a ſtrong meaſure to cut off both the man's legs, they exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, and ſaved the leg which ſhould have been cut off: ſo that after all the poor man was but one leg out of pocket. As I was not an eye-witneſs of this edifying tranſaction, it is proper to give ſome notion of the genealogy of the ſtory, which is very ſhort and ſimple. I have it from a Reverend Clergyman, who had it from one of the Phyſicians concerned, and who is now one of the moſt eminent of his profeſſion in London. I know both the Clergyman and the Phyſician intimately; I know them both to be men of veracity and men of ſenſe; and I have no doubt that the facts were juſt as I have ſtated them.

This remarkable misfortune which I have deſcribed, and many others of the ſame kind, but often worſe in degree, have proceeded evidently, from the greater eagerneſs of ſeveral Surgeons to perform operations, than to cure their patients without them. This unfortunate bias I have heard more than one of them confeſs having felt in themſelves. Whether it proceeds from their eager deſire to acquire dexterity as operators, or from a kind of vanity and ambition to diſplay that dexterity which they had, or thought they had, already acquired, perhaps by practiſing on the dead ſubject, is a matter of little or no conſequence to their living patients. Nor is it much better for theſe, when they fall into the hands of Surgeons, who, conſcious of their own deficiencies as operators, are unwilling to expoſe them to public view, and therefore decline, or poſtpone from time to time, operations which might

might probably have ſucceeded, if performed early, but which, when long delayed, have but a ſmall chance of ſucceſs, even when performed by the moſt ſkilful operator.

It is difficult to conceive any thing more repugnant to daily, or at leaſt to by far too frequent experience, than Mr John Bell's doctrine, of the great certainty of the ſcience, and the high perfection of the art of ſurgery. To confine myſelf to a few examples, which muſt have been known to him, of the obſtinate and irreconcileable differences of opinion amongſt Surgeons, I ſhall mention, in the firſt place, ſome of the particulars of that caſe already mentioned in general terms, page 132, 3. of this Memorial. A gentleman had ſuffered much diſtreſs and pain by a diſorder, which had continued and increaſed on him for thirteen months, during which time it had baffled the ſkill of two eminent Surgeons whom he had employed, and who certainly had not diſcovered, and do not ſeem even to have ſuſpected, what was the nature of the diſorder. In this condition he came to Edinburgh, and conſulted Mr Benjamin Bell, Mr Arrot, and myſelf. There was no doubt, or difficulty, or difference of opinion among us, as to the nature of his diſeaſe, which was as plain a Hydrocele as ever was ſeen. We told him ſo immediately, explained to him the nature of the diſorder, and aſſured him of the facility and certainty of curing it by an operation, and the impoſſibility of curing it any other way. He was at firſt much ſurpriſed, and ſomewhat incredulous, perhaps thinking it impoſſible that his former Surgeons could have been ſo ſtrangely miſtaken: but on finding his Edinburgh Surgeons perfectly decided in their opinion, and willing to operate immediately, he ſoon acquieſced in their judgment. Underſtanding, however, that he muſt expect to be confined, by the operation, for a fortnight or more, he ſaid it was neceſſary for him to return home, in order to arrange his affairs for ſo long an abſence; but intimated his reſolution of either returning to Edinburgh in two

or three weeks, or elſe ſending for Mr Benjamin Bell, and allowing him to operate.

Several weeks elapſed, yet we heard no more of our patient; till I, happening to paſs through the place where he lived, the latitude and longitude of which I do not chooſe at preſent to remember, went to ſee him, and inquired into his ſituation. His bodily health was nearly *in ſtatu quo*, but I found him in a ſtate of mental anguiſh and horror not to be deſcribed. His former Surgeons, as ſoon as he informed them of our opinion, and advice as to the operation, declared againſt it in the ſtrongeſt poſſible terms, aſſuring him that the diſeaſe could not be what we had ſaid. Still worſe, I found my patient minutely informed of all the horrible conſequences that a man in his ſituation had to fear; but with this unlucky perſuaſion, that they were all to be dreaded from the *operation*, not from the *diſeaſe*; as I, and I preſume every Phyſician and Surgeon in Europe, conceive to be the caſe.

I told him, it was impoſſible for me to alter my opinion; and that he muſt judge for himſelf, and follow the advice which he liked beſt; at the ſame time informing him, that the horrible conſequences which he had been taught to dread were to be apprehended from the diſeaſe, not from the operation; by which alone they could be prevented. He aſked me to meet with his Surgeons, and to conſult with them about his caſe. I had even a formal invitation from the Surgeons themſelves to ſuch a conſultation, which I peremptorily declined, not being in the humour, juſt at that time, to be clapperclawed by thoſe gentlemen; and as to clapperclawing them, at any time, I ſhould have thought it a very needleſs labour. The next news I heard of my patient, from one of his moſt intimate friends, was, that Mr John Bell had, by his two Surgeons, been called in to ſee him; evidently in hopes that he would decide againſt the opinion of Mr Benjamin Bell and the operation.

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But Mr John Bell was too ſharp for them, and very honeſtly declared that the diſeaſe was a Hydrocele; offered to perform the operation inſtantly, and did actually perform it, I believe, the very next day, and cured the patient without the ſmalleſt difficulty.

Yet thoſe two Surgeons are men of eminence in their profeſſion; and if they were to come and ſettle in Edinburgh, I dare ſay would expect to take the lead of three fourths of their brethren in this city, and probably of Mr John Bell himſelf.

The ſame certain ſcience, and enlightened and candid application of its principles, have often produced thoſe fierce debates, and irreconcileable differences of opinion, in the conſulting-room of this Hoſpital, to which I alluded in my former Memorial.

Many a queſtion, after full conſultation and debate, has been decided by a vote, each party holding faſt its own firſt opinion: ſome ſuch points have been decided by a very ſmall majority, ſome even by the attending Surgeon's caſting vote: ſome have been decided firſt one way, then the oppoſite; the minority on the firſt day watching their opportunity, when the houſe was *properly* aſſembled, and when thoſe whoſe opinions might be ſuppoſed to have had the greateſt weight, were abſent; ſo that their votes at leaſt could not tell in favour of their opinion. One miſerable example of a ſufferer by this practice, whom for the preſent I ſhall call J. R. I ſaw about two years ago; long after ſhe had been diſmiſſed from the Hoſpital as incurable. What her fate might have been, if the long and keenly conteſted queſtion about an operation to be performed on her had been decided the other way, I cannot gueſs; but I ſcarce think it could have been worſe than what ſhe has actually ſuffered, ever ſince the hour that the operation was performed. I never ſaw a more ſhocking or miſerable object; nor can I conceive a ſtronger refutation of Mr John Bell's doctrine of the certainty of the principles of ſurgery. Some

Surgeons,

Surgeons, who have done good ſervice in this Hoſpital, make no ſcruple to declare, that the vexation ariſing from thoſe obſtinate debates, and repeated conſultations, was one of their chief reaſons for withdrawing from its duties.

Mr John Bell can ſcarce have forgotten a pretty remarkable conſultation about a certain tumour. The firſt Surgeon who was deſired to declare his opinion, pronounced, without heſitation, that it was a rupture, ſomewhat conſtricted, but not completely ſtrangulated. This gentleman, a pretty ſharp one too, *nec pluribus impar*, one whom I could truſt againſt half a dozen or more of his brethren, happened to be of *one* party, or of *no* party, whichever Mr John Bell pleaſes to call it. Of courſe, thoſe of the other party were unanimouſly convinced that it was no rupture, but only a bubo, which was to be brought to ſuppuration by poultices, and opened when ripe. They would not even liſten to the ſuggeſtion of one of the t'other-ſide gentlemen, who wickedly propoſed, that, as the man's life was at ſtake, they ſhould make an inciſion through the ſkin, which could be attended with no danger, and would enable them to judge with certainty what was the nature of the tumour. Being the majority, they determined for the bubo and the poultice.

Next day, when they met again in conſultation, and began to enquire about the patient, the bird was flown. This was a prodigious triumph to the antirupturiſts, who were ſure that a man with ſo bad a rupture could not have run away. But the rupturiſts were as ſharp and as obſtinate as their adverſaries; and moſt maliciouſly traced the poor man to his own home, at the diſtance of a few miles from Edinburgh. It appeared that the poor man, who, from what he felt in his inſide, was well convinced that the vote of bubo and poultice was to do him no good, eloped from the Hoſpital next morning, and found means to crawl to a cart, which he found on the ſtreet,

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and which conveyed him to his own houſe, where he died in two or three days. But having been traced by that time, permiſſion was obtained to open his body, which was done in preſence of ſeveral antirupturiſts as well as rupturiſts: the rupture was found, as was expected by the latter party. It is even ſurmiſed, that a preparation of the morbid parts is ſtill in the poſſeſſion of one of the antirupturiſts. When I ſtate ſuch an occurrence, it may naturally be aſked by thoſe unacquainted with medical warfare, whether I really believe it; and if I do, whether I impute ſuch conduct to ſheer ignorance, or to the moſt unfeeling cruelty, and a deliberate purpoſe of ſomething little leſs than murder. As to the firſt queſtion, I anſwer without ſcruple, that I believe it firmly; becauſe I have heard it from ſeveral Surgeons who were concerned in the tranſaction, and whom I know to be men of ſenſe and veracity. As to the ſecond queſtion, with much diffidence, I give it as my opinion, that it could not be either from ignorance, or from a deliberate purpoſe of letting the poor man periſh. Such ignorance is incredible of any perſon who knows what a rupture is; and ſuch deliberate cruelty towards an unoffending, unhappy object, is inconſiſtent with my notions of human nature. I humbly conceive that the misfortune aroſe, as many other ſimilar misfortunes have ariſen, from the violent ſpirit of party, and that irritation and inveteracy which are almoſt peculiar to medical diſputants. I think it highly probable, that if thoſe gentlemen who were ſo unfortunate on that occaſion had been acting ſingly, or even ſeveral of them together, but coolly, and not pitted againſt their opponents, they would have judged and acted properly. I know no bounds to the violence of party-ſpirit. I believe that, like the ſpirit of gaming, or any very violent paſſion, it often makes men deaf, blind, and inſenſible to every other conſideration, even to the moſt ſacred and tender that human nature knows; and with this horrible aggravation, that many, far from being aſhamed

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of it, conſider it as their proudeſt boaſt and moſt honourable diſtinction; while few, if any, think themſelves individually reſponſible, or even blameable, for what is done by their party.

This, however, I humbly ſuggeſt with a *ſalvo jure* to all concerned. If they can explain, in any manner more ſatisfactory to the public, and more honourable to themſelves, the facts which I have ſtated, and which I believe can ſcarce be diſputed, but, if diſputed, may be eſtabliſhed by irreſiſtible evidence, they are heartily welcome to do it, and I ſhall be glad to ſee it done.

Among the other ſpecimens of the great certainty of Surgery, and of the equal and perfect ſkill of the Fellows of the Royal College of this City, who of late years have taken a ſhare of the Hoſpital-duty, and formed thoſe multitudinous conſultations, which appeared to me much worſe than uſeleſs; I muſt not omit to mention the irreconcileable difference of opinion with reſpect to a patient having, or not having, a ſtone in his bladder. From a work on Surgery, publiſhed a few years ago by one of theſe Surgeons, it appears to have been no uncommon occurrence, for one or two Surgeons of a numerous conſultation to have felt the ſtone, on ſounding the patient, and for ten or a dozen more of them, after repeated trials, not to have been able to feel it. Theſe differences of opinion ſeem to have been independent of any ſpirit of party; and, ſuppoſing, what it would be highly uncandid to doubt, that they all ſpoke and acted *bona fide*, neceſſarily imply, that ſome of them were much more expert than the majority of their brethren, at that little preliminary operation. It is admitted, I preſume, that a ſtone, even of conſiderable ſize, may be in the bladder, but in ſuch a ſituation, by having formed a ſac for itſelf, that the moſt expert Surgeon cannot feel it. But when a ſtone is diſtinctly felt by two or three, and not felt at all by ten or a dozen of the ſame profeſſion, it is difficult to conceive any other cauſe for ſuch a difference, but ſome want of dexterity in the greater number

ber of them. A moſt cruel evil is implied in the ſounding of an unhappy patient by every individual of a numerous conſultation, even if they were all perfectly ſkilful; and ſtill worſe, if any of them are unſkilful, awkward, or rough, in the uſe of the inſtrument. No patient, it may fairly be preſumed, ever was ſounded by ſuch a conſultation, unleſs he had either a ſtone, or ſome other diſeaſe in his bladder, implying ſuch tenderneſs of it, that the ſlighteſt touch of the ſtaff muſt have given exquiſite pain. It may be doubted whether ſome ſuch multitudinous ſoundings have not amounted to a more ſevere operation, I mean to greater torture, than the final operation of cutting for the ſtone by a ſkilful operator. It is admitted, at leaſt, to have been ſo bad, that often it was neceſſary to employ, for ſeveral days, warm bathing, opiates, and other meditines, to undo the miſchief that had been done by ſuch a preliminary conſultation. See *Iuitta's Surgery*, *vol.* i. *page* 479. *to* 493.

The moſt unexceptionable evidence on this point, perhaps the only evidence that Mr John Bell will admit to be competent, is the ſaid Mr John Bell himſelf. "I never ſhall forget the ſight I once ſaw, in "our well regulated and cleanly Hoſpital, where there was ſuch an "exhibition of *ulcera verminoſa*, as perhaps never was ſeen even by "Paree at the ſiege of Turin. Dr Aitken had taken an apprehen- "ſion that we were too apt to trouble ſores by officious dreſſing, "and being deceived, like many others, by the wonderful re- "union of freſh wounds, when laid together, and not dreſſed for "eight days, he formed this promiſing concluſion, that, as ac- "cording to the common ſaying, the "blood is the beſt balſam "for a wound," its own foul matter ſhould be the beſt balſam "for a ſore. He reſolved not to dreſs the ſores of the ſurgical "wards at ſhorter periods than five or ſix days; but that the "matter might not run through the bed during that period, he "made the nurſes gather all their old ſponges, and apply to each

 "ſore

" ſore a ſpunge. Four or five days after, a great many gentlemen " attended in the wards, on the tiptoe of expectation for the " further iſſue of this experiment! Each ſore, as it was ſuc- " ceſſively opened, was in a horrible condition, " the worms they " crept in, and the worms they crept out," and the Doctor was in " great diſgrace till he diſcovered the cauſe. He had given the " nurſes very ſtrict injunctions about cleanſing their ſpunges, " which they very ſtrictly obeyed; but each ſpunge, after being " waſhed, was laid by the window to dry; it was hatching ſeaſon " with the great flies, who were very glad of the ſpunges to depoſit " their eggs in; and when theſe eggs were laid into the ſores, " and kept there for ſome days, with all the advantages of ſuch a " ſituation, they did hatch with a vengeance." *Principles of Surgery, by John Bell.* 1801. *Page* 102. & 103.

It muſt ſurely have been very ſatisfactory and comfortable to the poor patients who were made the ſubjects of that abſurd experiment, to learn from ſuch good authority, that the worms which had been eating them up alive, had not grown out of their fleſh, but were all of them the lawful children of their fathers and mothers, commonly called blue-bottles: but ſtill there ſeems to have been either great uncertainty of the principles of Surgery, even ſo lately as ſince Mr John Bell was hatched, or elſe ſome very ignorant wrong-headed Surgeons permitted to practiſe in the Royal Infirmary. One other inſtance I ſhall give of the uncertainty of the principles of Surgery, and of the fluctuation, as well as difference of opinion, in the grand conſultation of Surgeons. After minutely deſcribing a caſe of femoral aneuriſm, Mr John Bell proceeds in theſe words.

" This was not indeed one of thoſe caſes where one might ſay " the patient had not many days to live, but yet it was a caſe " inevitably fatal! Operation was unavoidable! It was for the pur- " poſe of having the operation performed that he was laid in the " Hoſpital; and he was a manly hardy fellow, willing to ſubmit

" to

" to any kind of Surgery, eſpecially if it could but preſerve his " limb.

" Mr Harkneſs loſt no time in calling a conſultation. Out of " twelve gentlemen preſent, eight voted for preſerving the limb. " But on the morrow, when Mr Harkneſs had prepared every " thing for the operation of aneuriſm, the gentlemen taking the " caſe again under review, and eſpecially reflecting on the danger- " ous combination of fracture and aneuriſm, and on the difficulty " of ſaving a perſon who has even the moſt ſimple aneuriſm of " the thigh, they reverſed their former opinion. Mr Harkneſs " was forced to amputate the limb; and on the fifth or ſixth day " the man died of gangrene."

That Mr Harkneſs, or any Surgeon in the world, ſhould be *forced* to do what he thought right, is impoſſible; becauſe he would be very willing to do it. We muſt therefore underſtand by this very edifying ſtory, that the attending Surgeon was *forced* to perform an operation which he thought improper, and to cut off a limb which he thought he could have ſaved; nay, which a grand conſultation had thought might be ſaved, though the ſaid conſultation thought fit to reverſe its own deciſion, and to find that wrong to-day which was right yeſterday. A conſultation of twelve Phyſicians, or of twelve Judges, notwithſtanding the glorious uncertainty both of Law and Phyſic, could have done nothing worſe. Indeed, when two oppoſite deciſions are given in a law-ſuit, it is uſual to allow the patient a rubber-game. In ſome countries, if I am rightly informed, the patient has a right to demand ſuch a rubber: but in Surgery there is not always time for a rubber-conſultation; and therefore, if ſuch diſcordant and dangerous conſultations are permitted, reaſon, and juſtice, and humanity, all require that a box and dice ſhould always be ready in the conſulting room; and that, whenever the ſecond conſultation reverſes the deciſion of the firſt, the patient ſhould be entitled, if

he chooſes, to have a throw of the dice to ſettle the queſtion; juſt that he may have an equal chance for his limb or for his life.

I have had occaſion to learn, from the beſt authority, that is, from one of the Surgeons who acted in that uncivil, untractable manner, that the deciſions of certain grand conſultations of Surgeons in this Hoſpital have been ſuch, that the attending Surgeon, whoſe province it was to operate, has abſolutely mutinied, and refuſed to do it; telling his brethren, "Gentlemen, if you "chooſe to cut off this man's leg, or to cut this man for the "ſtone, you may, but I will not." Such adventures muſt no doubt have greatly ſtrengthened their ſentiments of mutual eſteem and confidence, and fully eſtabliſhed, to the conviction of the moſt obſtinate and incredulous of them, the unerring certainty of the principles of Surgery.

It is the more edifying to obſerve how confidently Mr John Bell maintains the certainty of the principles of Surgery, which implies the perfect uniformity of the practice of it, that his own works contain the moſt ample and unequivocal proof, that there are numberleſs diſputes among Surgeons, almoſt as inveterate, and many of them as frivolous, as thoſe which have agitated Phyſicians. If there were no other evidence of this well-known truth, his own writings would afford forty times more than enough. I doubt whether it be poſſible to read, ſtraight forwards, twenty pages of any of his books on Surgery, without meeting with ſeveral proofs and examples of this kind. The curious or diſtruſtful may make the trial at their leiſure, and judge for themſelves. But there is one illuſtrious ſpecimen of it in a book, and a part of a book, in which it could not have been expected; but withal ſo glaring and deciſive, that it muſt not be allowed to paſs unnoticed. The book to which I allude is his Anſwer to me; and the part of that book is the 3d ſection of it, page 37. immediately after he had contended moſt vehemently,

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all through his 2d ſection, (of 50 pages), for the uniform certainty of the principles of Surgery. It may fairly be preſumed, that, if on any occaſion he could have abſtained from profeſſional diſputes, and from treating in the moſt contemptuous manner the opinions and practices of his brethren from whom he choſe to diſſent, he would have done it on that occaſion, on which it was his avowed object to prove that there are no diſputes among them. But, *Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen uſque recurret*, or, as the French expreſs it, *Harlequin toujours Harlequin*. In that ſection of his anſwer he has introduced a long hiſtory, which looks like an old lecture, about the operation of cutting for the ſtone. But be it new, or be it old, it certainly bears no more relation to the queſtion between the Managers and the Surgeons, than the colour of my volunteer uniform, or the number of my anceſtors who have been Profeſſors. It is however made intereſting, and for my purpoſe ineſtimable, by the noble ſpecimen of chirurgical controverſy that he has introduced into it, with reſpect to the uſe of the cutting gorget, which he reprobates in the bittereſt terms of contempt and reproach.

That inſtrument has long been in general uſe; and to the beſt of my knowledge and belief, is to this day uſed by at leaſt nineteen in twenty of the beſt, the moſt intelligent, the moſt experienced, and the moſt ſucceſsful operators in the world. It was introduced at firſt from conſiderations of prudence and humanity; to leſſen the riſk of cutting for the ſtone, by giving, if not abſolute certainty, at leaſt a very great probability, much greater than Surgeons had before, of cutting into the bladder at once, and in the proper place. It has anſwered its purpoſe better than moſt contrivances either in Phyſic or Surgery have done. By means of it the operation has been performed on many thouſands of patients with perfect ſucceſs. Some individual Surgeons have employed it ſucceſsfully on ſeveral hundreds of patients. That it has not al-

ways

ways made the operation ſucceſsful, is a melancholy truth: nor do I believe that it ever can be made perfectly ſafe, or uniformly ſucceſsful, by any inſtrument, or any human contrivance.

It is a ſtill more melancholy truth, that it has often been employed by operators ſo unſkilful or unpractiſed, that they knew not how to uſe it properly, and conſequently miſſed the bladder, which they meant to cut, and perforated the neareſt bowel, thereby inflicting a mortal wound. Nothing worſe could have happened to thoſe patients, if their Surgeons had attempted to cut them for the ſtone without either ſtaff or gorget. But the important conſideration is, what would probably have been the fate of many hundreds, or thouſands, of thoſe who have recovered perfectly when cut by the gorget, if their Surgeons had not uſed that inſtrument, and had cut them with a plain knife? It is not only my opinion, which on ſuch a queſtion muſt go for nothing, but the opinion of the beſt Surgeons, amply teſtified by their uſing the cutting gorget, that many more would have periſhed by that operation if the cutting gorget had not been uſed. A very expert anatomiſt may cut for the ſtone ſucceſsfully without the help of the gorget, but not more ſucceſsfully or more certainly than he could do with it; and it is not only *poſſible*, but *probable*, that a good anatomiſt may *ſometimes* miſs the bladder, and kill his patient, by not uſing the gorget: neither of which misfortunes would have happened if he had uſed it: and what is only *poſſible*, or ſomewhat *probable*, of a very accurate anatomiſt and expert operator, approaches very near to *certainty*, with reſpect to the generality of Surgeons. The faireſt way to judge of this queſtion is, to aſk any reaſonable number of well-informed profeſſional men, Phyſicians and Surgeons, how they would chooſe to be cut, with the gorget or without it, by any Surgeon taken by lot out of a whole corporation or College of Surgeons, if they themſelves

were

were obliged to ſubmit to the dangerous operation in queſtion. I ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that at leaſt ninety-nine in the hundred of them would declare for the cutting gorget; and I doubt much whether Mr John Bell himſelf would be in the minority.

If any illuſtration of ſo plain a ſubject were needed, no better could be deſired than one long ſince rendered familiar and almoſt trite by the uſe which BACON hath made of it.

A few men, but they muſt be few indeed, may have acquired ſuch marvellous dexterity, as to be able to draw a ſtraight line, or an exact circle, with their unaſſiſted hand, without the help of the ruler or compaſſes: but any ordinary man can draw ſuch a ſtraight line, or ſuch a circle, with the help of the proper inſtruments, at leaſt as well, probably better, than the moſt expert draughtſman can do without them. If on any occaſion, ſurely when the life of a man is at ſtake, the certainty, or, if certainty be not attainable, the greateſt probability of ſucceſs that can be attained, is infinitely to be preferred to a vain oſtentatious diſplay of extraordinary dexterity.

With his uſual bad luck as to all matters of fact, Mr John Bell (ſection 3. page 37.) has quoted me as expreſſing contempt and diſapprobation of the cutting gorget employed by Surgeons in lithotomy. Nothing could be farther from my thoughts; nor is there any expreſſion in my former Memorial that can be conſtrued or tortured into ſuch a meaning. As it was intended to be peruſed by many who could not have known what was meant by a cutting gorget, inſtead of uſing that technical phraſe, I *deſcribed* the inſtrument, as a curious knife, like a pointed ſcoop, with a very ſharp edge: but ſurely ſuch a deſcription, which is perfectly juſt, denotes neither contempt nor approbation of it. Far from deſpiſing that inſtrument, I reſpect very highly the caution, the modeſty, and the humanity of that Surgeon, whoever he was, who contrived a little improvement of it, ſo as to bring the uſe of it almoſt to perfect certainty.

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The improvement to which I allude, was the addition of a little button at the point of it; corresponding to which the groove in the ſtaff was made wider at each end than at the middle; ſo that when the button at the end of the gorget was put into the groove at the proper place, which it was impoſſible to miſs, it could not get out again till it reached the further end of the ſtaff in the bladder; and conſequently the operator could not miſs the bladder, or fail to cut it in the proper place. I remember to have heard more than thirty years ago, that the late Mr Adie, who was dead before my time, but who in his day was conſidered as at the head of his profeſſion, and one of the beſt operators ever known in Edinburgh, at one time actually employed that kind of inſtrument. I never heard what were the objections to its general uſe; but I remember to have been told, that Mr Adie himſelf was ſtartled at the button coming out of the groove, when the gorget was fully introduced, with a kind of ſnap, which he had not expected: but this certainly can be no ſerious objection to its uſe.

Mr John Bell (ſect. 2. page 12.) has hinted ſomething of the Surgeons operating in the Royal Infirmary, "under the obſervance and *criticiſm* of their fellow-members, aſſiſted, and ſupported, and *controuled*, by the preſence of numbers; in an open area too, where all the world is free to pronounce judgment on his merits!—If the deſire of reputation, or the fear of ſhame; *the malignancy of enemies*, who cannot be excluded from operations, or *the praiſe of friends*, who will group around him; if fame, fortune, and his own happineſs being at ſtake, will not induce the young Surgeon to apply to his profeſſion, and become excellent, there is reaſon to deſpair." But with equal prudence and delicacy, he has avoided explaining himſelf fully, or mentioning any particulars on ſo painful a ſubject. I ſhould not wiſh to go very far in ſo unpleaſant a diſcuſſion; but juſt that his delicate alluſion may be in ſome meaſure underſtood, I ſhall mention

tion in the firſt place, in his own words, ſome of the ſigns and tokens of that *malignancy* and *criticiſm*.

" He (Dr Gregory) never witneſſed the ſeverities of the Sur-
" geon; never ſtrained hard his breath, nor involuntarily clenched
" his hands at the ſight of another's agony; nor blanched with
" fear, nor felt the palpitations of anxiety, in the midſt of an event-
" ful operation! Let a man feel the things he can feel, and his
" ſenſibilities will be applauded." (Anſwer, page 7. line 15. 20).

Whether I am or am not ſubject to hyſterics, and accuſtomed to exhibit the horrid grimaces thus beautifully deſcribed by Mr John Bell, is a queſtion of no moment, either to the Managers or the public; but it is right they ſhould know, that ſuch grimaces, and many ſignificant looks, and nods, and ſhakes of the head, by the grand chorus, made a part of the tragedies performed in the theatre of this Hoſpital. But the chorus did not always confine itſelf to dumb ſhew: as in the Greek tragedies, it ſometimes ſpoke out pretty plainly.

Ille bonis faveatque et concilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes:
Ille tegat commiſſa, Deoſque precetur et oret,
Ut redeat miſeris, abeat fortuna ſuperbis.

I have heard of more than one inſtance of the principal performer finding it neceſſary to remonſtrate, on the ſpot, in very ſtrong terms, with ſome Members of the chorus. One Fellow of the Royal College aſſured me, that, the very firſt time he operated in that theatre, he met with that vexatious embarraſſment, juſt when he was beginning a ſevere and dangerous operation on the eye. Some others have declared, without ſcruple, that ſuch malignant criticiſms as they were expoſed to in that theatre, would,

of themſelves, independently of all other conſiderations, have determined them to withdraw from the Hoſpital-duty.

One of the firſt articles of information that I received after my former Memorial was diſtributed, related to this point. A gentleman, no way connected with the Hoſpital, and not even of the Medical Profeſſion, mentioned to me how much he was ſtruck with the illuſtration of ſome of my general remarks, which he got from a ſtudent of Phyſic, in accidental converſation. This ſtudent mentioned having heard, in the operation-room, ſome of thoſe malignant criticiſms, delivered by the chorus, *alias* the conſultation, in pretty audible whiſpers, in ſuch terms as theſe, " He " is too high; he is too low; too much to the right; too much " to the left; he is always ſo," &c.

Such remarks muſt have been truly pleaſant, and edifying, both to the operator and the patient, if the latter was in a condition to liſten to them.

Soon afterwards, but yet ſeveral weeks before Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me came forth, I had the good fortune to get by anticipation a good commentary on the paſſage laſt quoted from it, and a full explanation of *the praiſe of friends*, *the malignancy of enemies*, *the obſervance and criticiſm*, which he mentions in ſuch general and delicate terms, as well as of thoſe horrid grimaces which he has condeſcended to deſcribe more particularly. I was told, to my great edification, that it was well underſtood, that *the praiſe of friends*, expreſſed by words and ſigns, was the *price* or reward of a *vote* properly given; and that *the malignancy of enemies*, no leſs plainly expreſſed, was the ſure puniſhment of a *vote* improperly given in the Royal College of Surgeons.

I do not however mean to inſinuate, that the malignant criticiſms alluded to by Mr John Bell, were *always unjuſt*: I have no doubt that very often they were but too well founded. Indeed the very firſt piece of intelligence I got, with reſpect to the *operation*

tion of my former Memorial, and this within two days after it had been diſtributed, was, that two different individuals had at once applied to themſelves ſome of my general remarks, with reſpect to unſkilfulneſs, and bad ſucceſs in operations. Their conduct in ſo doing was raſh and imprudent with reſpect to themſelves, and uncandid with reſpect to me; who did not know of their misfortunes, and who, if I had known of them, would not have alluded to them: but certainly, their ready application of my remarks to themſelves, could neither be *unjuſt* nor *erroneous*. Having no direct knowledge of the perſons, characters, and events, to which I here allude, I cannot judge of the juſtneſs of an opinion, which I know has prevailed among ſeveral members of the Royal College of Surgeons; namely, that if it had not been for my unlucky remark, and the ſtill more unlucky application of it, there would have been no diſpute or lawſuit between the College as a body, and the Managers.

The parties in the College were very nearly balanced, fifteen of the Fellows being againſt, and fourteen for the Managers. If only one of thoſe who ſo unluckily took to himſelf, and reſented, my general remarks, had voted with our friends; which from certain conſiderations, of the validity of which I cannot judge, it was expected he would have done, we ſhould then have had fifteen to fourteen in our favour. If both thoſe gentlemen had voted with us, which however I believe was not juſt expected, on the principle of former connections and habits, we ſhould have had ſixteen to thirteen on our ſide, and conſequently no lawſuit with their Royal College.

Mr John Bell deſerves great credit, for the dexterity with which he has diſplayed his learning, and availed himſelf of the account that *Celſus* gives, of the age, the character, and the accompliſh-

ments of body and mind befitting a Surgeon; that he ſhould be young, ſtrong, and ſteady in his hand, ambidexter, with quick and ſharp ſight: but how it came to paſs, that Mr John Bell ventured to give the concluſion of that amiable character, as drawn by *Celſus*, it is difficult to conceive; unleſs it was, that he truſted to the quotation being given only in Latin, and not tranſlated for the benefit of his readers. I beg leave to ſupply this omiſſion, without taking the trouble to ſettle whether it was accidental or intended. The concluding part of that paſſage of Celſus quoted by Mr John Bell, relates to the mental accompliſhments and diſpoſition of a Surgeon, and is expreſſed in the following words; *animo intrepidus, immiſericors:* which literally tranſlated mean, in diſpoſition *fearleſs* and *mercileſs*. Theſe amiable peculiarities could do little or no harm, when Surgeons were merely employed to execute the directions of Phyſicians, not to judge for themſelves what was proper to be done; but they are not quite ſo indifferent in this age and country, wherein Surgeons are not ſervants or ſlaves, employed to execute the directions of a ſuperior or a maſter; but expected to be men of liberal education, ſentiments, and manners, and fit to judge as well as act for themſelves. But it is unneceſſary to diſcuſs this point very fully, the principles on which it is to be decided being obvious to all. If Mr John Bell and his clients can perſuade their countrymen at large, that it is for their good to entruſt their limbs and their lives to Surgeons of ſuch characters and accompliſhments, and to whole corporations or colleges of them promiſcuouſly, and by rotation, it would be a ſin to balk them. I ſhould only beg leave to tell them, what Frederick the Great King of Pruſſia told ſome of his ſubjects, who were like to tear one anothers eyes out in a diſpute about the eternity of hell-torments, and at laſt referred the controverſy to their Sovereign. His anſwer was ſhort and ſimple: "If my good ſubjects of Neuf-"chatel are abſolutely reſolved to be damned to all eternity, I have

"no

« no objections." (*Si mes bons ſujets de Neufchatel veulent abſolument etre damné eternellement, je n'y trouve rien à redire.*)

But as long as the good people of Scotland, when acting for themſelves and their families, take care to keep out of that purgatory which Mr John Bell ſo ſtrongly recommends to them, I ſee no right or pretenſions that they can have to put the ſick poor into it. As to all thoſe evils which Mr John Bell thinks he foreſees from the ſelection of a few Surgeons for the Hoſpital-duty, I can ſee no probability, nay ſcarce a poſſibility, of any one of them. Every Surgeon in Edinburgh, juſt as much as at preſent, will be at liberty, and in duty bound, to give every one of his apprentices as many and as minute inſtructions on every point in ſurgery, as he thinks fit; every one of thoſe apprentices will be entitled to attend the Hoſpital on the ſame terms as at preſent, ſo become acquainted with the caſe of every patient in it, and with the practical treatment of every caſe, and to ſee every operation that is performed. According to Mr John Bell's own doctrine, of the certainty of the principles and the uniformity of the practice of ſurgery, and the equal and perfect accompliſhments of every Surgeon who has the good fortune to be a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in this city, every ſuch apprentice will ſee every ſuch caſe treated as ſkilfully, and every operation performed as well as poſſible. I cannot for my heart conceive what more he would have for their ſake. Their education will be as complete in every reſpect, as it has hitherto been; and I ſee no reaſon to think that their numbers will be leſſened. As to the diſappointment which ſome Surgeons may feel at not being allowed to exhibit their ſkill and dexterity in this Hoſpital, as on a public ſtage, it does not appear to me a point that ought to intereſt either the Managers or the public. The very notion of it ſtrongly recalls to my memory a diſappointment which *William*, Dr Monro's purveyor, met with ſome twenty or five and twenty years ago, and lamented, in

very

very pathetic terms, to the great entertainment of our late worthy Principal, Dr Robertſon. He declared, "It was the hardeſt caſe "in the world, after the Doctor" (for Dr Monro was always *the* Doctor) "I had been at the expence of hiring a coach for him." The grievance was, that *William* was obliged to come back to Edinburgh without his agreeable though ſilent companion in a poſt-coach, who was actually under ſentence of hanging at Stirling, but moſt unluckily got a reprieve.

Mr John Bell is pleaſed to ſay, (Section 3. page 43.), "The "Memorialiſt never ſaw an operation; and we are at ſome loſs to "gueſs what an ignorant perſon may imagine to be the conſe-"quences of an ill performed operation; but we, who have ſeen "many operations, both good and bad, have ſeen none of thoſe "*murders*, which the Memorialiſt has more than hinted at."

As to my never having ſeen an operation, that point has been fully diſcuſſed already (page 123. 6. of this Memorial). As to my having more than hinted at *murders* in my former Memorial, no ſuch hint or inſinuation is to be found in it from end to end. This is one of the many matters of fact, about which he has been almoſt uniformly unlucky. By *murder* is always meant killing a perſon willfully and deliberately. But ſurely nothing of this kind was ever ſuppoſed by me, nor is there one word or ſentence in my former Memorial that can bear ſuch a conſtruction. On the contrary, I had expreſsly, and in ſtrong terms, declared my belief, that all the Surgeons attending in the Hoſpital, whether equal or unequal in profeſſional knowledge, and manual dexterity as operators, did their beſt. My ſentence expreſſing this opinion, "It is not the *fault* of a youth of four and twenty, that he has not "all the uſeful knowledge, and manual dexterity, of an experien-"ced Surgeon of fifty years of age," (*Mem. page* 12.) muſt have been

been well known to Mr John Bell, for he has quoted it repeatedly in his Anſwer to me, and made ſome curious remarks on it; in ſubſtance amounting to an aſſertion, that *it is the fault* of ſuch a youth if he has not all theſe accompliſhments. My obſervations and arguments were avowedly and uniformly directed againſt the general badneſs of that ſyſtem of indiſcriminate attendance by rotation of all the Surgeons in Edinburgh, which expoſed the patients to ſo many evils and ſo great dangers: but I diſclaimed, expreſsly and ſtrongly, all thoughts of imputing even *blame*, not to ſay *murder*, to any one of them; or of propoſing any inquiry into particular misfortunes, ſuch as were known to have reſulted from that ſyſtem.

But let us conſider what is to be underſtood by Mr John Bell's aſſertion, that he had ſeen none of thoſe *murders*; only ſubſtituting, as Chriſtian charity ſeems to require, the more decent terms of *evils* or *misfortunes*, inſtead of the horrid expreſſion of *murders*. He acknowledges having ſeen many operations, both good and bad. Are we then to underſtand by his aſſertion, that all thoſe operations were abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary, and could not have been prevented by more judicious and ſkilful treatment of the ſame caſes before they came to that laſt extremity? And are we to underſtand that all thoſe operations which he ſaw, both good and bad, were uniformly ſucceſsful? Such things may be aſſerted, but they cannot be believed. To ſuppoſe them even poſſible, is to ſuppoſe all the Surgeons of Edinburgh, not only equally ſkilful in the treatment of all chirurgical diſeaſes, and equally dexterous in the performance of all operations; but moreover to ſuppoſe them all as ſkilful, and as dexterous, as Surgeons can be. This I conceive to be more than Mr John Bell has maintained in his Pamphlet, or will chooſe to maintain at preſent; eſpecially with reſpect to that party, or *no* party, in their Royal College,

College, which has the wickedneſs to diſſent from him and his friends.

Beſides, it appears by ſome paſſages, already quoted from another of his works, that he had actually ſeen, and remembered, ſome of thoſe misfortunes to which I alluded, but which I never dreamed of regarding as *murders*. The horrid experiment, (quoted page 273, 4. of this Memorial), of leaving all the ſores of the patients in the Surgeons wards, for ſeveral days in the heat of ſummer, undreſſed, till they were all crawling with worms, was at leaſt an *evil;* but would have been no *murder*, if it had been fatal to them all. The conduct of a grand conſultation, in reverſing one day the deciſion of another conſultation only the day before, and *forcing* the attending Surgeon to cut off a limb, which it is plain he thought might have been ſaved, was another of thoſe evils: yet though the patient died of that operation, it cannot be conſidered as *murder*, becauſe it was not done with intention to kill. But with reſpect to the patients who loſe their lives, or their limbs, it is much the ſame whether thoſe evils are called misfortunes or murders: and it is equally the duty of the Managers, if it is in their power, to avert them from the patients in the Hoſpital.

Mr John Bell beſt knows whether he *ſaw* or even heard of any of thoſe *evils*, or what he calls *murders*, to which it was raſhly ſuppoſed that I had alluded in my former Memorial, by remarks which ſome gentlemen unluckily applied to themſelves, and others more wiſely, if not more candidly, applied to ſome of their profeſſional brethren. But I can at leaſt teſtify, that Mr John Bell was on one occaſion preſent, and very attentive, not at an operation, but at the opening of the body of a patient on whom I had directed an operation to be performed. The operation was in itſelf neither difficult nor dangerous; yet in that caſe it appeared *indiſputably*, that it had only been *attempted*, not *performed;* for that circumſtance

ſtance which is eſſential to the operation, and for the ſake of which the operation at that time was, and always is directed, had not been accompliſhed. Nay more, the attempt had been made ſo rudely and unſkilfully, that a gangrene was induced in the wounded part, of ſuch extent and depth, that it probably would have been fatal, if the patient had had no other diſeaſe. But, in this caſe, I fully acquit the operator of having been even the innocent cauſe of the patient's death; for it appeared plainly, on opening the body, that the patient's life could not have been ſaved: and I hope the Surgeon, who was ſo unfortunate on that occaſion, will have the candour to acquit me, of being either the murderer in that caſe, or the innocent cauſe of the patient's death, by directing that operation. I certainly ſhould not have done ſo, if I had known all that appeared ſo plainly after his death. I can only ſay, in my own vindication, that I wiſhed to give the patient every poſſible chance for his life; that there was no danger in the operation, ſuppoſing it rightly performed; and that in the caſe, of all I have ever had under my care, that approached the neareſt to that one, the patient had been ſaved by that very operation, when in circumſtances of the utmoſt danger; indeed in ſuch circumſtances, that I am confident her life could not have been ſaved by any other means. In that unfortunate caſe to which I allude, it was known to all the Students attending the Clinical Lectures, as well as to me, that the operation had not *ſucceeded;* and all of us were curious to know, whether there had been any preternatural impediment to the right and effectual performing of it, or whether the failure was to be regarded merely as a *misfortune.* On this account, and alſo becauſe the caſe was a very intereſting one, both in the Theory and Practice of Phyſic, for I know but of *one* ſimilar in the records of Medicine, an unuſually great number of Students attended in the operation-room to ſee the body opened; and all of them ſaw that there was no peculiar impedi-

ment to the operation intended; that it had *not* been performed, and had been very roughly and unſkilfully attempted. Therefore, though this is a *medical fact*, I conceive it is one that cannot be diſputed: and in particular, that it cannot be diſputed by Mr John Bell; who was not only preſent, and very attentive, at the opening of the body, but who even took, on the ſpot, a very ſufficient memorandum of it, which I dare ſay he has in his repoſitories at this hour; for the caſe was as intereſting in Surgery as in Phyſic. Moreover, I think it impoſſible that he ſhould have forgotten it, even at the time when he was writing his Anſwer to me; for I had mentioned it particularly in my long letter to him, (20th Auguſt 1800), with many additional circumſtances, which there is no occaſion to ſtate here. I even mentioned to him in that letter, the very pointed remark made upon it by Mr Chilver, a favourite pupil of Sir Walter Farquhar, and now an eminent Surgeon in London, who at that time attended my Clinical Lectures, and was at leaſt as much aſtoniſhed as I was at the failure of the operation which I had directed.

Such an example explains and illuſtrates, better than any general obſervations can do, what I wiſhed to inculcate in my former Memorial. Relative to the Surgeon and the patient who were concerned in it, it was to be regarded merely as a misfortune; but as relative to the general ſyſtem, which expoſed patients to ſuch misfortunes, it was a proof of great badneſs; and of a fault in the Managers of the Hoſpital, if they allowed ſuch a ſyſtem to continue, without uſing their utmoſt endeavours to get it aboliſhed. It can ſcarce be neceſſary to point out, that if a patient's ſituation had been ſuch, that his life might have been ſaved by that operation rightly performed, he would have loſt that chance for his life, and would have been expoſed to new and great danger, I mean from the mortification, by the unſkilfulneſs of the operator. Nor is it very unreaſonable, or uncharitable, to ſuppoſe, that an operator,

operator, who was ſo unfortunate in a ſimple and eaſy operation, might be almoſt as unfortunate in thoſe that are confeſſedly more difficult and dangerous. I have no doubt that he would profit by that misfortune, and would ſtudy the operation carefully, and learn to do it well, and actually perform it with complete ſucceſs on the next patient on whom he had occaſion to try it. Such I conceive to be a ſpecimen of the improvement which Deacon Kennedy and his friends expected that young Surgeons were to acquire by practiſing in the Hoſpital: but I can conceive no right on the part of the Managers to make the patients in the Hoſpital the victims of ſuch improvement; or any excuſe for them if they do ſo, when they can get ſkilful and experienced Surgeons to do the Hoſpital-duty.

It ſurely required the utmoſt exertion of Mr John Bell's ſuperior genius to diſcover, that, in the paſſage which he has *fairly* quoted from my Memorial, I had *threatened*, or, as he inſinuates, had done worſe than threatened, the oldeſt of the young Surgeons, or any other body. To *threaten*, means to denounce evil to a perſon, in order to deter him from doing ſomething that is diſagreeable to the perſon threatening, or to terrify him, ſo as to make him do ſomething which that perſon wiſhes. But I, far from denouncing any evil to the oldeſt of the young Surgeons, or to any other body; far from endeavouring to terrify any perſon into doing what he did not chooſe, or endeavouring to deter any perſon from doing what he did chooſe; had very modeſtly expreſſed my humble hope, that the formidable Janus-headed Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſq; might perform his office on me; and had declared, that I ſhould conſider it as a very great honour, and a particular favour. This declaration could not be diſtruſted; for I mentioned, explicitly and honeſtly, the reaſon for which I

was ambitious of that honour and favour; namely, that it would complete the evidence of all that I wiſh to eſtabliſh, and give to the Managers of the Infirmary, and to the public, a juſt notion of the inveterate rancour of medical warfare. In this reſpect at leaſt I have not been diſappointed; for if the ſpecimens which in my former Memorial I gave them of medical warfare, and if the writings that bear the name of Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſq; to which I referred them, did not fully convince them of all that I wiſhed them to know, Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me muſt have been more than ſufficient to give them a juſt notion of medical controverſy, and even ſome inſight into a part of human nature, which otherwiſe they could have had no opportunity, and no wiſh to explore. In one kind of inveteracy, I admit, that controverſial Divines ſurpaſs the moſt ſpirited of medical diſputants: but in moſt, or all other reſpects, I conceive that Mr John Bell's pamphlet is equal to any thing that has appeared in theological controverſy, from Saint Origen to Dr Prieſtley incluſive; and far beyond any thing that is to be met with in the writings of our keeneſt medical diſputants.

It is eaſy, and it is worth while, to point out the general and moſt obvious cauſes of the inveteracy of medical diſputes and medical diſputants. The beginning of almoſt every medical diſpute is ſome diſcovery or improvement, or pretended diſcovery and improvement, which ſome perſon of the medical profeſſion conceives that he has made, and wiſhes to promulgate to the world. Even in *pure ſcience*, ſuch diſcoveries and improvements are often regarded with jealouſy and envy by others engaged in the cultivation of the ſame ſciences. They are mortifying to the pride of thoſe who did not make them, and are conſidered as arrogant claims to ſuperior talents and knowledge in the authors of them. Of ſuch controverſies, even within my memory, there have been ſome ſtriking examples in the ſciences of chemiſtry, of politics,

politics, and of metaphyſics. But phyſic and ſurgery are not *pure ſciences*: they are *trades* or *crafts*, by which thoſe who profeſs them muſt live. Of the numberleſs corrections and refutations, real or pretended, of old opinions and practices, and of the numberleſs new diſcoveries and improvements, real or pretended, which from time to time have been publiſhed to the world, a very large proportion has evidently been intended to ſerve the purpoſe of the *craft*, by increaſing the *trade* of thoſe who propoſed them, rather than to improve the ſtate and to extend the limits of the ſcience. That ſuch is the caſe with the newſpaper advertiſements, and all kind of quack bills, and many little publications, in favour of particular medicines and practices, is well and generally known; and it is equally true, though not ſo generally known, that the caſe often has been, and to this day often is, the ſame, with many publications which appear in the form of handſome octavo or large quarto volumes. In the beſt of theſe there is generally much credulity, and ſtrong and glaring partiality to certain opinions and practices; but in many of them there is even great diſingenuity, in ſuppreſſing what the authors muſt have known to be true, and aſſerting what they muſt have known to be falſe. Nor is this kind of diſingenuity confined to thoſe who begin the attack; I mean to the authors of real or pretended diſcoveries and improvements. Some of theſe, pretty far advanced in life, and long eſtabliſhed in practice, have been juſt as long the profeſſional rivals, and often the bitter perſonal enemies, of their brethren and cotemporaries. Others of them are young men, not yet known to the world; but eager to become ſo, and to ſhow the world how far ſuperior they are to their elder brethren in talents and profeſſional knowledge, and how far more worthy of public eſteem and confidence, and of great and lucrative employment.

Thoſe who are attacked on this very tender point, cannot be expected to be much more candid and impartial than thoſe who attack

tack them. Phyſicians and Surgeons depend, not only for proſperity in their profeſſions, but for their daily bread, on their profeſſional character; which is neceſſarily eſtimated by a kind of compariſon, always invidious, with the character of their brethren. If any of them were to admit the claims of their aſſuming brethren, whether their cotemporaries or juniors, to ſuperior ſkill and knowledge, it would be almoſt equivalent to giving all that they had to their moſt hated rivals and bittereſt enemies. Profeſſional character is to a Phyſician or Surgeon, what a tongue is to a lawyer, fingers to a fiddler, or feet to a dancing-maſter: it is his landed eſtate, his bank-ſtock, his India bonds, his 3 per cent. conſols, his ſkill in jockeyſhip, his ſeat in parliament, his knowledge of play, his ſcrip, his omnium; and he muſt fight for it to the laſt. If only half a quarter of a yard were ſnipped off from the point of a lawyer's tongue, every time that he undertook a bad cauſe, or employed a bad argument in maintaining a good one, the world would ſoon hear ſuch an outcry as never yet was heard; and I have no doubt that the gentlemen of the long robe, who have long been accuſtomed to diſpute and wrangle with one another all their days, with great candour and good humour, would ſoon become as illiberal and inveterate in their diſputes as the worſt of my brethren. Medical diſputants are but men, neither better nor worſe than other men; but placed in very trying and unfavourable circumſtances. Of this many of the Medical Profeſſion have been ſo well convinced, that no temptation, or provocation, could ever induce them to engage in a medical controverſy.

Some of our medical diſputants have really been men of talents, of ſcience, of wit: and have had all the advantages which a liberal and learned education could give them: ſo that it is not ſurpriſing that their controverſial writings have been juſt and ſevere, as well as acute, lively, and entertaining. But unfortunately many more of our diſputants, who had none of theſe advantages, have been

pleaſed

pleaſed to take it into what they call their heads, that they poſſeſs them all in the higheſt degree. To this unlucky miſtake we owe an infinite number of volumes, the hundredth part of which would be much more than ſufficient to give all mankind a ſurfeit of our writings and our controverſies.

It is unneceſſary here to give any ſpecimens of what every perſon of taſte and judgment muſt acknowledge to be vile and deteſtable in medical controverſy. But I ſhall give, from the writings of our celebrated countryman *Dr Pitcairn*, one little ſpecimen of the ſpirit, the inveteracy, the contempt, and even the ribaldry and abuſe, with which a keen medical diſputant can treat his opponent.

Aſtruc, a famous French phyſician near a hundred years ago, had got into a diſpute about the circulation of the blood, ſome things relating to which he either could not or would not underſtand. He ſeems even to have gone ſo far wrong, as to admit that the fibres of the cavities of the heart might contract, but yet to deny that by ſuch contraction they could compreſs, or propel, the blood contained in thoſe cavities. To ſuch a hereſy *Pitcairn* could give no quarter; and, though perfectly able for the taſk himſelf, gravely aſked the opinion of the Profeſſor of Mathematics in the Univerſity of Edinburgh with reſpect to it; a James Gregory, not one of my dynaſty, but one of the three brothers of the collateral dynaſty. He, on conſidering *Aſtruc's* argument, pronounced with confidence, as well he might, that if a circular fibre ſurrounding a cavity, contracted, not only it muſt compreſs whatever was contained in that cavity; but that, if it contracted to half its original length, it muſt compreſs whatever was between it and the centre of the cavity into the fourth part of its former ſpace. Not content with this ſchooling, he proceeds to give a burleſque demonſtration of *Aſtruc's* doctrine, but good enough, as he thought, for *Aſtruc*.

This,

This, it might have been thought, would have ſatisfied the keeneſt diſputant: but it did not ſatisfy *Pitcairn*, who thought it neceſſary to adminiſter ſome farther flagellation to *Aſtruc*, in his own peculiar ſtyle; and accordingly, after quoting the words of my nameſake, thus proceeds.

" *Hæc meus Gregorius.*

Ego libellum Aſtrucii non vocem Annales Voluſi, ſive cacatam chartam, quia mihi videtur Aſtrucius *nunquam cacaſſe, alioquin ſenſiſſet muſculos abdominis et ſe contrahere, et alia exprimere poſſe.*"

Happily it is impoſſible to tranſlate *Pitcairn*'s ſentence: but every perſon who underſtands the language and the alluſion of it, muſt be ſenſible that it is impoſſible to eſtimate more contemptuouſly the talents and knowledge of an adverſary. But thoſe medical diſputants, who naturally burn with a deſire to emulate what they cannot fail to admire, and who have really the fineſt talents for blackguard abuſe, may be aſſured that it is in vain for them to expect the ſame admiration of their ribaldry, unleſs it comes adorned, recommended, and enforced, by ſome portion of that acuteneſs, and ſound reaſoning, and real wit, which *Pitcairn* diſplayed. (See the Prefatory Epiſtle to *Pitcarnii Diſſertationes Medicæ*, 4to Edin. edition, 1713).

Suppoſing, however contrary to the plain meaning of words as plain as any in the Engliſh language, that my innocent compliment to Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſq; was *bona fide* a threat, and by me intended as ſuch, if not as ſomething worſe, a ſtill greater difficulty and ſubject of aſtoniſhment remains, namely, how ſuch a compliment, or threat, to Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſq; can be a threat to the oldeſt of the young Surgeons.

The firſt ſtep in this moſt intereſting inquiry is, to aſcertain who is the oldeſt of the young Surgeons. Happily for all concerned,

cerned, Mr John Bell has had the goodneſs to give us great aſſiſtance on this point. In the very beginning of his pamphlet, or what may be reckoned a preface and introduction to it, he tells us, that " the following requeſt was preſented to Mr Bell, as the " oldeſt of the Junior Surgeons." Every body muſt be ſenſible of his great delicacy in attributing to that accidental circumſtance alone, the very honourable compliment that one party of his brethren paid him, in requeſting him to draw up an Anſwer to my Memorial. This mode of ſtating the fact muſt certainly be attributed to his extraordinary modeſty; for every perſon but himſelf would have ſaid without heſitation, that he was employed by his party to write for them, not in conſideration of his being the oldeſt of the Junior Surgeons, but in conſideration of the undiſputed ſuperiority of his talents, and his great and acknowledged merit as a controverſial writer. Indeed ſome evil-minded perſons went ſo far as to ſay, that he was the only one of the party who could write; but this muſt not be underſtood literally. All that I can underſtand or believe on that point is, that none of his party could have written nearly ſo well as he has done, or would have been truſted by the party to write for them, on an occaſion at once ſo delicate and ſo important.

Whatever may be thought of theſe ſpeculations, it muſt at leaſt remain certain, either that Mr John Bell, the oldeſt of the young Surgeons, is Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſquire, or at leaſt that he wiſhes to be thought ſo. The latter ſuppoſition being unfavourable to Mr John Bell, as implying a wiſh on his part to have the credit of writings not his own, but very generally and juſtly admired, may be ſet aſide at once, without any minute examination. We have then to conſider only the other part of the alternative, that he really is, as his words imply, the author of thoſe admirable works which bear the name of Jonathan Dawplucker. On conſidering again and again his words, in the very intereſting

marginal note at preſent under review, I cannot perceive that he has made any diſtinction between the two publications which equally bear that formidable name. Are we then to conſider him as the author of them both? or will he in due time, and in his own way, favour the world with a luminous commentary on his own text? This I conceive will at leaſt be acceptable to the world, and will even be wanted for the inſtruction and conviction of many well-meaning but dull plodding people, who do not underſtand men of genius and their ways, and always inſiſt upon judging them by common rules. There is no doubt ſomething very engaging in that kind of myſtery and coquetry which Mr John Bell has ſo artfully employed, in half ſhowing half concealing that he is the great Jonathan Dawplucker; *et fugit ad ſalices et ſe cupit ante videri.* Many readers will always be gratified by finding ſomething left to their own genius, imagination, and induſtry: they muſt no doubt conſider it as a compliment to their ſagacity, to get but a hint, a pretty broad one, I muſt confeſs, in the preſent inſtance, and to be allowed to find out the reſt for themſelves. Poſſibly too Mr John Bell has had ſome other reaſons for not chooſing to ſay explicitly that he was the writer of all or even of ſome of thoſe works which bear the name of Jonathan Dawplucker. But if he will only conſider how wofully his readers and admirers muſt be puzzled and bewildered by his reſerve and obſcurity on that intereſting point, I truſt he will have pity on them, and put an end to their doubts and their pain, by enlightening their underſtanding. This ſurely he can beſt do, *diem qui promit et celat, aliuſque et idem naſcitur.*

The chief difficulty that many of them feel, is to conceive how any man, not furiouſly inſane, ſhould attack, and diſſect, and anatomiſe himſelf, with ſuch unrelenting inveteracy, as Mr John Bell has diſplayed in both thoſe works to which I allude. It is a common opinion, but a very groſs miſtake, that it is only in the firſt

of

of Jonathan Dawplucker's works that Mr John Bell is ſo roughly handled. The ſame inveteracy againſt him appears in the ſecond of them, even in the dedication of it to Mr Benjamin Bell; which appears to have been moſt unaccountably overlooked: For example, "When this bloody-minded man troubled the College, (of which "you very naturally conſider yourſelf and your copartners as con- "ſtituting a majority, or at leaſt a quorum, *tres faciunt collegium*;) "when he began to diſturb the College with his johnbellations, "why did you not let him go on quietly? I can aſſure you he "is no more fit than yourſelf to inſtitute a literary ſociety, and "far leſs to create one out of nothing! You ſhould have let "him "Go on," and left it to me to ſhow how much he is a "dunce in ſcience, a pretender in anatomy, a puppy in ſurgery, "and a plagiariſt in every thing. Was it wiſely done to ſet your "Hall on fire, in order to drive out a few vermin? He and thoſe "who have joined him are a ſet of ſelf-ſufficient ignorant boys, "not equal beſides in number to the partners of your own firm. "If they have contradicted you, it muſt have been from mere "conceit, vanity, and idleneſs! "They are idle, they are idle, "and therefore do they ſay, Let us go to ſacrifice to our gods."" This, to the beſt of my judgment, is juſt the ſum and ſubſtance of what is contained in the firſt of Jonathan Dawplucker's pamphlets.

I already hinted, that it is a vulgar error, to attempt to eſtimate men of genius, and their actions, by common rules. Certainly no man but one of ſuperior genius would have thought of acquiring diſtinction, and of recommending himſelf to the favour and confidence of the public, by ſuch an unmerciful diſſection of himſelf, as that one of Mr John Bell contained in the pamphlet, which explains, with ſuch acuteneſs and logical accuracy, the whole craft and myſtery, and all the *genera* and *ſpecies*, of the great and new art of johnbellation. I muſt own I think there was a degree of vanity in giving it this name, not quite conſiſtent with his exemplary

modeſty on all other occaſions. Perhaps he thought his great candour, and perfect veracity in all that he ſaid with reſpect to himſelf, might excuſe that appearance of vanity, in endeavouring by ſuch an innocent expedient to make his name immortal. It muſt be obſerved, that this mode of attracting notice, and gaining eſteem and confidence, though uncommon, is not abſolutely without example even in this age and country. Within my memory a famous popular preacher ſoon gained the eſteem and confidence of his congregation, by telling them, from the pulpit, that from his youth upwards he had been ſadly addicted to lying. It was evidently impoſſible for ſuch a man to fail in his attempt; if his hearers were not ſtocks or ſtones, they muſt have believed and eſteemed him.

In ſome other countries it has been the practice, time immemorial, for certain individuals of ſuperior genius, to raiſe themſelves to eminence, and to acquire great influence over their countrymen, by inflicting on their own perſons the moſt unmerciful torments, by way of penance. Thus, in Hindoſtan, they reckon at leaſt a million and a half, ſome ſay two millions, of ſuch fellows; whom they call Faquirs. I remember to have read of one of theſe worthies, who became a very great man by the ſimple expedient of driving ten-penny nails into his breech. I do not wiſh here to make or to inſinuate any malicious compariſons: I take it for granted, that not one in fifty of thoſe ſelf-tormenting Faquirs is equal, or nearly equal, in genius to Mr John Bell: yet ſurely even the dulleſt of them may be reckoned infinitely ſuperior in talents to the ſimple Hindoos who believe in them. Every body knows, that in Popiſh countries, to this day, many people acquire the reputation of ſuperior ſanctity, and are even ſuppoſed to obtain miraculous powers, by the unceaſing penances which they perform. I know not how early this practice began in the Chriſtian Church: but certainly as early as the third century it was well underſtood.

Early

Early in that century the great Saint Origen flouriſhed: and though, by his ſuperior genius, and his unparalleled inveteracy in diſputes, and his being a little crack-brained, he muſt eaſily have been at the head of one party in the church; yet not content with that kind of greatneſs, by employing a well-judged penance on his own perſon, he acquired at once unrivalled eminence. Underſtanding, or pretending to underſtand, literally, a certain text of Scripture, (Matth. xix. 12.), which the moſt orthodox divines of all Chriſtian churches have agreed in conſidering as metaphorical, he performed on his own perſon a little chirurgical operation, a mere ſcratch, a flea-bite, in compariſon of the terrible diſſecting and anatomiſing which Mr John Bell, under the borrowed name of Jonathan Dawplucker, has performed on himſelf; and ſo well did he ſucceed by it, that his reward was great as his utmoſt wiſh. He had the pleaſure of living in perpetual warfare with all his brethren, and at laſt of receiving the crown of martyrdom; nay, to this day, his writings are often quoted by keen theological diſputants. *Omne tulit punctum.* If Mr John Bell really wiſhes to be regarded as the Saint Origen of medical diſputants, which, from the marginal note in his Anſwer to me, and the whole tenor of the firſt, and the dedication of the ſecond of Jonathan Dawplucker's pamphlets, ſeems to be the caſe, no body can have any objections: but if that be not his meaning, and if all thoſe writings, and notes, and hints, are to be regarded only as a Harlequinade, I humbly think it is almoſt time that he ſhould make an end of that cruel ſelf-diſſection, and put himſelf neatly together again, *ſecundum artem*; for I am ſure that many of his beſt friends muſt long have been in pain for him. Very little will be wanted to accompliſh this healing proceſs: nothing more or leſs, but juſt to ſhow that the quotations from his own writings given as true in Jonathan Dawplucker's firſt pamphlet, and by the malevolent vulgar believed to be ſo, are all falſe, as well as the

ſhort

ſhort and pithy character given of himſelf in the dedication of Dawplucker's ſecond pamphlet. This I am ſure it will be as eaſy for him to do, as to ſhow that thoſe quotations from my Memorial are fair and true, with which he has ſo liberally favoured the world.

I muſt not deprive Mr John Bellof the pleaſure of knowing that he ſucceeded perfectly in *quizzing* me, by what he had hinted of the attacks made on his character, and of what he had done in ſelf-defence. Not ſuſpecting that there could be any trick or deceit in that part of his letter, printed page 35. of this Memorial, I *bona fide* applied to ſeveral bookſellers for a copy of his defence, or anſwer to the pamphlet of Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſquire: but none of them had ever ſeen or heard of ſuch a defence or anſwer, ſo that I am well convinced none ſuch ever was publiſhed. What is very curious, moſt or all of them mentioned to me Jonathan Dawplucker's ſecond pamphlet, as what they underſtood to be Mr John Bell's defence or anſwer to the firſt. But that muſt have been a miſtake; for, in the firſt place, it contains (as already quoted, page 299.) inſtead of a contradiction or refutation, a brief recapitulation and enforcement of every thing unfavourable to Mr John Bell, which had been ſaid of him in Dawplucker's firſt Pamphlet: and in the ſecond place, the whole body of the Pamphlet is filled with the moſt virulent abuſe of Mr Benjamin Bell; which I conceive to be well merited, and well beſtowed on the ſaid Benjamin Bell, as being a kind of income-tax, more equitably aſſeſſed, and more rigorouſly exacted, than ever Mr Pitt's was. It is indeed ſo fair and reaſonable a tax, that I think he ought to pay it without murmuring, every year, as long as he lives.

I muſt alſo do Mr John Bell the juſtice to ſay, that he has ſhown himſelf thoroughly maſter of the Engliſh language, by the very perfect manner in which he has diſguiſed his own peculiar ſtyle, and aſſumed one diametrically oppoſite to it, in the former of the

two

two Pamphlets publiſhed under the borrowed name of Jonathan Dawplucker. In moſt or all of his other works, he writes with peculiar eaſe and elegance; in every page, and in almoſt every ſentence, ſnatching a grace beyond the reach of art. But in Jonathan Dawplucker's firſt pamphlet no ſuch grace or elegance can be perceived: it is evident in the whole of it,

That rules as ſtrict his labour'd work confine,
As if the Stagyrite o'erlook'd each line.

I doubt whether there be in the whole of it the ſmalleſt deviation from the vulgar rules of grammar: and certainly the whole of it is written with a degree of dryneſs, little if at all inferior to that of Gulliver's Travels, or Swift's Advice to the people of Ireland to eat their own children. That dry ſtyle has at different times been in faſhion; as for example, in England about one hundred, and in Rome about eighteen hundred years ago; and in Athens for ſome hundred years before. Some readers as well as writers of bad taſte have affected to admire it greatly, and have called it claſſical: but it has always ſoon gone into diſrepute, and been reprobated by the general voice of mankind; who never fail to tire of it, and to be delighted with the very oppoſite ſtyle, ſuch as Mr John Bell has employed in his Anſwer to me. If this Anſwer had been written in the ſame dry ſtyle with Jonathan Dawplucker's firſt pamphlet, the ſtudying and diſſecting of it, inſtead of being an agreeable amuſement, would have been to me an irkſome and inſupportable labour.

Towards the concluſion of his pamphlet, (ſection 3. p. 49. and 50.) Mr John Bell takes his leave of me, in a ſtrain of the moſt animated eloquence; to which it would be doing great injuſtice

juſtice were I to give only a few ſentences or extracts from it, by way of ſample. I ſhall therefore tranſcribe it *verbatim et literatim*, not forgetting the marginal notes with which it is enriched and adorned: for theſe notes are of equal authority with the text, and contain matters much more intereſting even than the text itſelf. I put, as on a former occaſion, numbers on the margin of this long quotation, for the ſake of preciſe reference to the ſeveral parts of it, conſidered in their proper connection with the whole.

" Of the Memorialiſt we ſhall alſo take our leave, though in " terms leſs fervent or reſpectful. The ceremonial of taking leave " muſt be complied with: his talents, his profeſſional reputation, his " literary atchievements, his ſtation in the Univerſity, require all " due obſervance. " His genius for quarrelling with his profeſ- " ſional brethren" is the natural ſubject of our valedictory ad- " dreſs; the ſhare of this very peculiar talent which he has " been pleaſed to beſtow on us and our private matters, enſures " to him this laſt mark of our regard.

" Conſcious that he had ſaid ſuch things as young men of ſpi- " rit could never endure, he has taken precautions not unworthy " of his genius; and tried, by a curious anticipation, to take off " the effect of our juſt reproaches."

To this part of his text is ſubjoined the following marginal note; the firſt lines of which are a faithful tranſcript from my own Memorial, and the laſt lines contain his very intereſting obſervation on my words.

" *Perhaps the formidable Janus-headed Jonathan Dawplucker, Eſq;* " *notwithſtanding his former kindneſs to me, and all the civil and kind* " *things which I have ſaid of him and his books, will officiate as high* " *prieſt, and from his two mouths will thunder forth the direful ſen-* " *tence, and with his own four hands begin the ſacrifice, by plucking* " *me as bare as a fiſh. This I ſhall conſider as a very great honour,* " *and a particular favour; for it will complete the evidence of all*

" *that*

" *that I wiſh to eſtabliſh, and give to the Managers of this Infirmary,*
" *and to the Public, a juſt notion of the inveterate rancour of medical*
" *hatred.*" Theſe are the terms in which the Memorialiſt threa-
" tens (not to uſe any coarſer expreſſion), the OLDEST OF THE
" YOUNG SURGEONS, whoſe natural duty it was to ſtand forward
" in the general cauſe." His text then proceeds as follows:

" The public and avowed diſapprobation of a whole college,
" he has imputed to the reſentment of one man, who, though he
" once ſtood forth in ſelf-defence when his own reputation was
" attacked by anonymous pamphlets, had no quarrel with the Me-
" morialiſt, whom he never feared nor hated! nor hates nor
" fears.

" Our Memorialiſt, ill contented with this great exertion of his
" peculiar talent! ſenſible of an imperfection in his work, while he
" has attained only to a general quarrel, faſtens his quarrel at laſt
" on this perſon, and perſecutes him with ſuch praiſe as his nature
" will allow him to beſtow. He calls him the head of our party!
" a cunning compliment; he calls him the Junius and the Janus
" of medical literature! an ironical compliment; he deſcribes
" him as the moſt turbulent man of a turbulent ſociety! a ſelfiſh
" compliment; ſince it reminds us of that boaſted accompliſhment
" in which the Memorialiſt himſelf never was excelled, and recals
" the memory of his own quarrels, numberleſs and nameleſs,
" Lordly †, Literary, and Obſtetrical! Metaphyſical, Polemical,
" Surgical, and Moral too! for how can ſuch a man, when he
" quarrels with all good men, eſcape quarrelling ſometimes " on a
" moral cauſe!" But we leave the unwearied Memorialiſt to com-
" plete the work he delights in, and finiſh the particular quarrel
" he has ſo happily begun." Subjoined to this paſſage, by a mark
of reference at the word *Lordly*, is the following marginal note.
" The Memorialiſt inſinuates, that his quarrels are only pro-

 " feſſional

" feſſional quarrels; but tho' he cajoles the Bar, he quarrels wi
" the Bench."

The latter part of this ſhort note, " tho' he cajoles the bar, he quarrels with the bench," I have not the honour to underſtand; and therefore I ſhall not attempt to make any particular obſervations on it. The former part of the note, about my *inſinuating* that my quarrels are only *profeſſional* quarrels, I underſtand perfectly, and admire greatly. It is equal to almoſt any of the ſpecimens hitherto conſidered, of Mr John Bell's talents as an orator and a lawyer. As it related to a *matter of fact*, which muſt have been perfectly well known to him, his uſual bad luck with reſpect to all ſuch matters of courſe attended him in the ſtating of it. Far from having ever inſinuated, or ſaid, or thought, that my quarrels were only profeſſional quarrels, I had expreſſed fully, and in the ſtrongeſt poſſible terms, the direct contrary; and had even mentioned my reaſons for having carefully avoided all profeſſional quarrels. Of theſe truths, every perſon may convince himſelf at once, by peruſing the 222d and 223d pages of my former Memorial. There is peculiar merit in Mr John Bell's mode of ſtating that fact; for it appears from his own Pamphlet, (Section 1ſt, page 40th), that he had read and underſtood that part of my Memorial: nay, he has even quoted *fairly* my own words, expreſſing, that without even the pretence of any difference in medical opinions, and purely on account of certain differences in morality, I had quarrelled irreconcileably with ſome of my brethren, and refuſed ever again to conſult with them.

Theſe things being abundantly well known, I thought it right, in my former Memorial, to mention, briefly and generally, what had been the nature and ſubject of thoſe quarrels in which I had been engaged; as I was almoſt certain that they would be miſrepreſented, and that I ſhould be reproached with them, as if they had been profeſſional diſputes or quarrels; of which, as occurring in

others,

others, I had occaſion, for the purpoſes of my former Memorial, to give ſome account, and to expreſs my abhorrence and contempt. But though I regard *medical quarrels* as ridiculous and diſgraceful, I conceive that there may be ſuch immoralities in the conduct of Phyſicians or Surgeons, that their profeſſional Brethren may not only be juſtified in renouncing all intercourſe with them, but can ſcarce be juſtified if they do not act in this deciſive manner.

It is difficult even to gueſs, what purpoſe Mr John Bell's determined miſrepreſentation of my meaning and of my words is intended to ſerve. I do not ſee that he attempts to make any uſe of it; and I therefore conſider it as introduced only to diſplay his own peculiar talents: juſt like the ſpirited Voluntary, totally unconnected with every part of the Church ſervice, which an expert organiſt performs to amuſe a congregation, and ſhew his own powers of compoſition and execution. There are ſeveral other *voluntaries*, ſeemingly of the ſame kind, in Mr John Bell's anſwer to me: ſome of which have been already conſidered. One more of them, as a matter of curioſity, deſerves to be pointed out. In his 2d ſection, page 21, line 24, he is pleaſed to ſay: "And our memorialiſt has "been ſo unwiſe as to repeat the lines, *Non facile emergunt quorum* "*virtutibus obſtat res angusta domi.* It is of us he ſpeaks: we thank "him for the compliment, and ſhall ſtrive to do away the re-"proach."

Mr John Bell's uſual bad luck with reſpect to all matters of fact has attended him on this occaſion. In my former Memorial I had *not repeated* (nor *quoted*, which, I preſume, is what he means by *repeated*) that well known paſſage of one of Juvenal's Satires; nor even one word of it: as he muſt have known perfectly. It is therefore himſelf alone, not me, that he and his clients have to thank both for the compliment and the reproach to themſelves, which he pretends to diſcover in thoſe words of the Roman Satiriſt. But, for my part, I muſt own that I am ſo dull, that, even with the

help of his very broad hint, I can perceive neither reproach, nor compliment, nor any the moſt diſtant alluſion to Mr John Bell or his clients in that paſſage of Juvenal's third ſatire, which he, not I, has quoted.

The only paſſage, in my former Memorial, that I can think of, which can be ſuppoſed to have recalled to any perſon's memory Juvenal's ſentiment, though certainly it expreſſes a very different thought, is the following ſentence: " Modeſt merit, from unfavourable cir- " cumſtances, may pine, from youth to age, in obſcurity, con- " tempt, and poverty." But ſurely even this paſſage neither is, nor can it be conſtrued to be, either a reproach, or a compliment, or any kind of alluſion to Mr John Bell and his clients. I am ſure when I wrote it I was not thinking either of him or of them: nor can I well conceive how any human ſkull can be ſo roomy as to receive and accommodate at once ſuch incongruous and diſcordant thoughts. I can ſcarce think that he himſelf, or that any of them, ſhould ſuppoſe, and I am ſure at leaſt that no other body could ſuppoſe, that I meant to ſay, that *res anguſta domi* always or generally made a perſon unſucceſsful in any branch of the medical profeſſion: for it is too notorious to require any proof, that very few indeed, certainly not one in a hundred, of Phyſicians or Surgeons, have attained eminence and affluence, or even independence and comfort, by their reſpective profeſſions, who had not poverty at firſt to force them to perſevering exertions. As little ſurely can it be ſuppoſed that I meant to ſay, that *modeſt merit* precluded ſucceſs in phyſic or ſurgery; or that none were unſucceſsful but men of *modeſt merit*. I had ſtrongly expreſſed my belief, that the moſt eminent Surgeons in Edinburgh, who enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of public eſteem and confidence, and had been the moſt ſucceſsful in their profeſſion, were really men of merit, probably of the greateſt merit, and well entitled to that high eſtimation which they had attained. So ſtrongly had I expreſſed this opinion, as thereby to give offence to

Mr

Mr John Bell, who, in his Anſwer to me, has made ſome curious but pretty ſevere animadverſions on it: For example, in the 36th page of his ſecond ſection, where having taken occaſion to mention, but without naming them, " the three firſt Surgeons of the " city," he adds this ſhort and pithy commentary: " Superior " to us, not in profeſſional acquirements, but in that accumu- " lation of the gains and emoluments of our profeſſion, which is " ſo often obtained by means which good men deſpiſe."—*At, at; hoc illud eſt; hinc illæ lachrymæ; hæc illa eſt miſericordia.*—As to any ſuppoſition, that I meant to ſay or inſinuate that none were unſucceſsful but men of *modeſt merit*, it is, in the firſt place, too abſurd to need any diſcuſſion; and, in the ſecond place, it is directly repugnant to matter of fact. In every city, and within my memory repeatedly in this city, there have been inſtances, ſo well known, that it would be equally needleſs and indelicate to mention them particularly, of men, whoſe character was juſt the reverſe of *modeſt merit*, who yet were completely unſucceſsful as Surgeons. I have no doubt that Mr John Bell, even from this very general deſcription, could eaſily name one of the individuals to whom I allude; a man whoſe life and death were ſo remarkable and inſtructive that they ſhould never be forgotten: were it only, that all who imitate his conduct may be warned by his example.

I cannot gueſs what Mr John Bell means by my *lordly* quarrels; for, to the beſt of my remembrance, I never had the honour of any quarrel with any Lord; nor do I know what he means by my *polemical* quarrels. Polemical quarrels, or controverſies, or diſputes, ſeem to me to be ſomewhat like wooden timber, vegetable graſs, or marine ſeas: Controverſial and polemical, the one originally a Latin, the other a Greek word, I take to mean the ſame thing. My literary and metaphyſical quarrels muſt anſwer for themſelves. I can gueſs what he means by my *obſtetrical* quarrels: but certainly his expreſſion could never convey to one, not already

already acquainted with the fact to which he alludes, any the ſmalleſt notion of what it was; on the contrary, his brief expreſſion would convey a totally different meaning, and one abundantly abſurd and diſgraceful to me. Any perſon, informed that I had been engaged in an obſtetrical quarrel, would certainly underſtand, that I had differed in opinion on ſome point in Midwifery from ſome practitioner of that noble art; and that this difference in opinion had become a violent diſpute or controverſy, and at laſt an open quarrel; which certainly would have been completely ridiculous in me. But it is well known to thouſands, and to no body better than to Mr John Bell himſelf, that the only quarrel of mine, to which in the paſſage quoted he can allude, bore no relation whatever to any opinion or practice in Midwifery, and was purely on a moral cauſe. It was indeed with a Knight of the noble order of the Crotchet; but that ſurely could no more entitle it to be called an obſtetrical quarrel, than a diſpute with a clergyman or a lawyer, a ſoldier or a merchant, is entitled to be called a theological or a legal, a mercantile or a military quarrel. The ſubject of it was a knaviſh pamphlet, publiſhed under a falſe name; and plainly intended to promote the pecuniary intereſt of one man, and to injure the fame and fortune of another, both of them my colleagues in this Univerſity. From an accidental, but very ſtriking combination of circumſtances, I was led to believe that I could completely detect, and bring to condign puniſhment, the author of that vile piece of knavery: and this I thought the honour and intereſt of the Univerſity required to be done. Though baffled in this attempt, and even in the preliminary ſtep towards it, the prevailing on my colleagues of the Univerſity to engage in that enquiry, I was abundantly ſucceſsful in another attempt that I made, in the way that I thought beſt, to prevail on the author of that pamphlet to *expoſe himſelf*. Having had the agreeable ſurpriſe, (even while the preliminary queſtion about engaging in the

the inquiry was yet pending in the *Senatus Academicus)*, to receive a letter from the author of the pamphlet, ſtill uſing his falſe name of J. Johnſon, in which he exerted all his eloquence and talents to *diſſuade* and *deter* me from urging that inquiry which I had propoſed; having alſo by that time got ſome valuable additional information about the ſaid pamphlet, and its birth and parentage; no leſs indeed than that one of the ſuppoſed or ſuſpected authors of it had intimated to one of his acquaintance, (the late Dr Adair junior), that he ſhould ſoon ſee a publication of his, but without his name; that a few days afterwards, but near a month before it was publiſhed here, he put into the hands of Dr Adair a copy of the ill-fated pamphlet; that Dr Adair recogniſed in it the ſentiments, and even ſome of the expreſſions which he had ſeveral times heard from that perſon; that afterwards he took occaſion to tell Dr A. that he had been accuſed of being the author of the pamphlet; that he was much hurt with the imputation, and begged Dr A. to contradict it, if ever he heard it mentioned; that Dr A. adviſed him to do this in a much more effectual way, by applying to the real author, through the medium of the London publiſhers of the pamphlet, and getting him to declare himſelf; that he had declined to do this, for very curious reaſons, inſinuating, that another perſon, whom he named, had alſo been ſuſpected of having written the pamphlet, inſinuating even that his own father, nay that he himſelf was in ſome meaſure concerned in it, " that the author might poſſibly have received ſome " hints reſpecting that publication, from his father or himſelf, by " means of ſome information which had been conveyed to a friend " in London," &c. &c. Having thus acquired almoſt certain knowledge that he was either the author of the pamphlet, or at leaſt privy and acceſſory to it, I thought it worth while to try to make him give further evidence againſt himſelf, even without knowing it. With this charitable intention, I wrote him, by way

of

of anſwer to his unexpected favour, ſuch a letter as no human being ever before wrote to another. My letter was committed to the care of his London publiſhers, who, I was ſure, would forward it, directly or indirectly, to the proper perſon: and he, I was pretty ſure, could not ſuſpect the real purpoſe of it; which was to provoke him to ſome abſurd and extravagant exploſion, which, inſtead of removing the ſuſpicion that he complained of, might confirm it for ever, and make him generally and indiſputably known as the author of the pamphlet. After a delay of a few days longer than I expected, but which was afterwards *fully and preciſely* accounted for, the exploſion took place in the very perſon in whom I intended and expected to produce it; and at the very moment when it began, I received a ſecond letter from J. Johnſon, Eſq; in which he vowed all manner of vengeance againſt me, but in the mean time gave me complete evidence that he *had* received my letter, and that he *had not* ſuſpected the purpoſe of it.

All theſe things, of courſe, I took care to explain very fully and publicly: and in due time I was favoured with a moſt edifying reply to my publication; ſuch a reply as did not ſeem to need any rejoinder from me: for bad as things were before, it made them rather worſe. But there is one point in it which it is now full time to explain, juſt to put an end to the horrible feelings and apprehenſions with which the author of it and his friends have been tormented for near ten long years.

Conceiving, I know not why, that it would ſerve his cauſe, and at leaſt render me odious, to make it be believed that my *Anſwer* to him, and to his appeal to the public, was to have been publiſhed, *whether his Appeal or exploſion had been made or not*, conceiving alſo, very rightly, as it appeared, that ſome people would believe ſuch an abſurdity, in his Reply to me, he hazards ſome ſuch apoſtrophe as this: (for not having his Pamphlet at hand, I quote from

from memory): "What muſt be the feelings of the reader, when "he knows that his (Dr Gregory's) pamphlet was actually in "the preſs before my letters were written," or ſomething to this effect.

The feelings of his readers, as well as his own, muſt indeed have been moſt awful: full of ſublime horror. My pamphlet contained the moſt preciſe reference to his publication; and there is much difficulty in conceiving how I could write with ſuch certain reference to another perſon's work not then written, on any ſuppoſition but one, and this one ſo plain and obvious, that it muſt inſtantly have occurred to every perſon who had faith enough to believe his aſſertion; and of courſe to himſelf, if he believed it: the ſuppoſition is only, that I had ſold myſelf to the Devil, and from him had learned exactly what that ill fated author was to write. That point being aſcertained, it followed plainly, by neceſſary conſequence, that the devil muſt come to take me away, as he did Dr Fauſtus, the very moment that the term expires, for which I had bargained. Every body knows that ten years is the longeſt term that he ever gives in ſuch bargains: and as this term is now almoſt expired, J. Johnſon, Eſq; and his friends muſt all be waiting in trembling hope of ſeeing me carried off in a grand ſtyle. But that no unreaſonable hopes, or groundleſs fears, may be entertained on my account, I think it right to declare that I have no pretenſions either to ſuch preternatural knowledge, or to ſuch a ſplendid exit from this world. Far from attempting, or thinking it poſſible, to write and print an anſwer to letters that were not then written, and might never have been written, I was humbly content with a plan of publiſhing certain "*Letters to and from J. Johnſon, Eſq;*" including of courſe my curious letter to him. This, which concerned only the ſaid J. Johnſon and myſelf, his good friend had heard of; probably by tampering with ſome of the printer's people, and being unable to diſtinguiſh between himſelf and J. Johnſon, Eſq;

ſuppoſed it was an anſwer to himſelf. As he could not, even when it moſt concerned him, make that nice diſtinction, he certainly cannot complain of other people for not making it. I ſhrewdly *ſuſpect* that he had got that valuable intelligence, and of courſe got into that unlucky puzzle, a *few weeks ſooner* than he is pleaſed to acknowledge; that is, *before*, not *after* his exploſion took place; and that the dread of ſeeing thoſe letters (eſpecially my curious one) in print, and his commendable eagerneſs to have the firſt fire, contributed not a little to produce the ſaid exploſion. The ſimple peruſal of that letter of mine, will go very near to ſettle this point at once: and if he or J. Johnſon, Eſq; chooſe to print it, I conſent to be judged by it; and engage even to give him a copy of his reply, (his ſecond letter to me), to be printed along with it. That reply, as well as my own letter to him, were ſuppreſſed, for certain reaſons, in my anſwer to the exploſion; but if he ſtill thinks that I have done him any injuſtice in that controverſy, particularly in ſuppreſſing thoſe two moſt edifying letters, the firſt of which, if erroneous in any reſpect, would have been concluſive evidence *againſt* myſelf, and the ſecond of which, if true in any reſpect, would have been a *complete vindication* of him, he is heartily welcome to publiſh them both. There can be no diſpute about the authenticity of my letter to J. Johnſon, Eſq; for it is in my own hand-writing; and in his ſecond letter, he acknowledged having received it. Further, I engage, as ſoon as he or his dear friend ſhall publiſh that letter, to point out, in the *exploſion* itſelf, certain alluſions to it: and ſuch alluſions as cannot be underſtood, or explained, or accounted for, on the ſuppoſition of accidental coincidence, or on any ſuppoſition but that of my letter having, directly or indirectly, reached the perſon for whom it was intended, and his anſwer to it having reached me, in a *very few days more* than the time neceſſary, in the regular courſe of poſt, for the letters in queſtion to perform *all their deſtined travels*, between Edinburgh and London.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, whenever that precious letter of mine ſhall be given to the public, I engage to ſhew, that between the day when the latter part of my letter was diſpatched from Edinburgh, and the day when the exploſion began, there was *time* for *my* letter to have gone from Edinburgh to London, from London to Bath, and back again from Bath to London and Edinburgh, ſo as to coincide with all the other circumſtances of the ſaid exploſion, which I firmly believe to have been produced by it. This point I took ſpecial care to aſcertain, firſt, by enquiry at the Poſt Office, ſecondly, by *actual experiment*, (writing to a friend who was in the neighbourhood of Bath, and getting his anſwer in courſe of poſt), becauſe it was ſtrongly maintained in the *Reply* to my account of that buſineſs, that *one* of the copartnery of the London bookſellers, to whoſe care my letter had been directed, was then at Bath, and that there was not time for my letter to have gone to Bath, and to have returned to Edinburgh, in time to have produced the exploſion. The coincidence in that circumſtance, as in every other, was perfect. Such was the nature of that literary foxchace, to which Mr John Bell is pleaſed to allude, as an *obſtetrical* quarrel of mine.

But whatever reaſons I have for thinking unfavourably of the underſtanding and morals of one male practitioner of Midwifery, I never did nor could extend that unfavourable opinion to all others of the ſame profeſſion. If this had been poſſible, it would have been juſt as abſurd, as it would be to extend, by the power of fancy, the good opinion which I entertain of ſome individuals of every profeſſion, to all others of the ſame profeſſions: and withal, it would be moſt uncharitable and unjuſt. I ſhould be very ſorry indeed, to be ſuppoſed capable of thinking and acting in a manner at once ſo irrational and illiberal: and I ſhould be ſtill more ſorry, to be thought capable of the folly of remonſtrating, or argu-

ing ſeriouſly, with the great, and gay, and faſhionable world, on the abſurdity and indelicacy of employing generally men-midwives, whether their aſſiſtance be needed or not. I ſhould as ſoon think of running my head againſt the firſt axiom of geometry, or againſt all of them in ſucceſſion, as of controverting the fundamental maxim of all faſhionable and profitable phyſic; *ſi populus vult deciſi, decipiatur.* I only take the liberty to laugh at that, as at many other faſhionable follies, which I know it is in vain, and which at any rate it is not my buſineſs, to attempt to reform. As I have had occaſion to learn from one very reſpectable male practitioner of midwifery, who ſeriouſly remonſtrated with me on the ſubject, that what I had ſaid in my former Memorial with reſpect to men-midwives had been miſunderſtood, I take this opportunity to fulfil my promiſe to him, by ſtating explicitly my ſentiments on that ſubject.

In the *firſt* place then, I hold it as a moſt ſacred principle, too plain and obvious to require any proof or illuſtration, or to admit of diſpute, that women labouring of child, juſt as much as women not labouring of child, or more if poſſible, ought to receive every aſſiſtance and comfort, which their ſituation requires.

Further, I hold, that, when the ſituation of a woman labouring of child is ſuch, as to require chirurgical operation, or aſſiſtance by means of inſtruments, this aſſiſtance ought to be rendered to her by a *man*, well inſtructed in anatomy, regularly bred to Surgery, and accuſtomed to the uſe of chirurgical inſtruments. For I do not conceive that women are fit to practiſe Surgery; and I am convinced that few, if any, of them would chooſe to attempt it.

I can hardly conceive that any perſon ſhould be ſuch a monſter of cruelty, or yet of ſo capricious a temper, as to object to women in labour receiving, whenever they need it, ſuch aſſiſtance; and

this

this from ſuch hands as I have ſpecified. But ſurely it does not follow from theſe principles, or from any others that ever I heard of, that women labouring of child ought to have the manual aſſiſtance of male Surgeons, any more than the application of chirurgical inſtruments, when they do not need them; which is the caſe at leaſt ninety-nine times in the hundred.

As I have not the honour to be an Atheiſt, I firmly believe that women by nature are juſt as able to bear and nurſe children, as their mates are to beget them; often much better; as they every now and then take occaſion to convince the world in general, and their affectionate huſbands in particular. Nay, I believe they are made for thoſe very purpoſes, and ſo well qualified for them, that it would contribute greatly both to their health and happineſs, if they were conſtantly employed either in breeding or nurſing children, for five and twenty or thirty years of their lives. Every body knows the reaſon for which the bearing of children was made a work of great pain and labour: but it was no part of the ſentence paſſed on Eve and her female deſcendants, that it ſhould be alſo a work of danger, or any thing like a diſeaſe. There is much reaſon to ſuſpect that the danger and the diſeaſes often connected with child-bearing, are produced by our own prepoſterous management, and our abſurd contrivances and interference, in order to aſſiſt nature, in one of her moſt important operations; which, like all the reſt of them, is contrived with perfect knowledge and wiſdom.

As ſoon as I knew what midwifery meant, I formed that notion of its importance, which is expreſſed in the following paſſage of a very popular work, written by my father, and publiſhed near forty years ago.

" Every other animal brings forth its young without any aſ-
" ſiſtance; but we judge Nature inſufficient for that work; and
" think a midwife underſtands it better. What numbers of in-
" fants as well as mothers are deſtroyed by the prepoſterous ma-
" nagement

" nagement of theſe artiſts, is well known to all who have inquired " into this matter. The moſt knowing and ſucceſsful practition- " ers, if they are candid, will own, that in common and natural " caſes Nature is entirely ſufficient, and their buſineſs is only to " aſſiſt her efforts, in caſe of weakneſs of the mother, or an unna- " tural poſition of the child."

That portion of common ſenſe and ſympathetic tenderneſs, which nature hath implanted in all mankind, has taught them univerſally, that it is proper for women, in thoſe hours of pain and ſorrow, to have the *comfort* and *encouragement*, which thoſe of their own ſex who had been in the ſame ſituation can beſt give them, and which in general is much better for them than the *aſſiſtance* of profeſſed midwives. But as the diſcharge of that humane and charitable office muſt often have been irkſome and inconvenient to women who had other buſineſs and other duties to perform, in all towns and populous countries midwifery has become the profeſſion of a few experienced matrons. There is too much reaſon to believe, that many of theſe have often been too buſy, and have endeavoured to give much aſſiſtance, where none was needed; ſometimes with a view to ſhorten the time of their own irkſome attendance; ſometimes to gratify the impatience of thoſe under their care; ſometimes to raiſe their art, and themſelves, in the opinion of their patients and others. There is at leaſt equal reaſon to believe, that the ſame conſiderations, and the additional motive of wiſhing to ſhow their own vaſt ſuperiority in knowledge and dexterity over common midwives, have induced, and ever will induce, many male practitioners of midwifery to be as needleſsly and as perniciouſly buſy. A man who is to live by midwifery as a profeſſion muſt be well eſtabliſhed in reputation and practice, and muſt even have an uncommon ſhare of wiſdom and virtue, before he dare venture to tell his patients, or even to let them perceive by his conduct, that in ninety-nine caſes of the hundred, they had no occaſion for his aſſiſtance,

and

and that he did nothing for them; in ſhort, that bearing children is one of the things that they muſt do for themſelves, becauſe nobody can do it for them. At leaſt I do not remember to have heard or read of any women who became mothers by proxy; as many great, and wiſe, and good men have become fathers, without any trouble to themſelves. That women may bear children for themſelves, in the great proportion of caſes ſpecified, muſt be pretty evident from the moſt obvious conſiderations. When the firſt man-midwife that we know of, Paulus Ægineta, was born, there were about one hundred millions of people in the Roman Empire. At this time there is not in the great Empire of China one man-midwife: and yet at leaſt thirty thouſand children are born in that empire *every day*; and probably twice or thrice as many in the reſt of the world, without any ſuch preternatural aſſiſtance. Even in thoſe countries of Europe, in which the faſhion of employing men-midwives has prevailed the moſt and the longeſt, ſtill a large proportion of the women bear children without their help, as the grandmothers and great-grandmothers of all of them did. Our ladies, who moſt firmly believe that they cannot bear their own children, but muſt be delivered by a male operator, and our gentlemen, who, no leſs wiſely, believe that ſuch is the caſe with their wives, and their ſiſters, and their daughters, cannot fail to know, that their mothers, and aunts, and grandmothers, in all the generations that have been ſince the creation of the world, bore their own children: yet none of them think of enquiring when and why this new curſe was entailed upon the daughters of Eve. Any of them who have a little curioſity, and not much to do, may perhaps find ſome amuſement in calculating the number of perſons from whom they are lineally deſcended, even within forty or fifty generations. The ſeries increaſes rapidly, 2, 4, 8, 16, for the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth generations paſt; then all theſe numbers are to be added together to ſhew the ſum total of their anceſtors in any given

given number of generations: but if they take only the laſt great number of the ſeries, they will ſoon find that they muſt have had, within the number of generations ſpecified, *thouſands*, nay *millions* of *millions* of anceſtors, if there had been ſo many on the face of the earth at any one time: and whatever deductions may be made from thoſe vaſt numbers, on the ſcore of couſinſhip, ſtill it will remain certain, that every perſon muſt have had millions of anceſtors, one half of whom muſt have been females, who bore their children without the help of men-midwives.

The ſame kind of calculation will alſo afford much comfort to thoſe who have ſucceeded in perſuading themſelves, and labour hard to perſuade their Phyſicians, that in their families there are no hereditary diſeaſes. As to the buſineſs of Midwifery, which led to theſe remarks, I have only further to add, that in every caſe in which there is reaſon to apprehend any danger, or any preternatural difficulty, in childbirth; that is, whenever a woman is deformed; for I know of nothing elſe that can enable any perſon to foreſee ſuch danger or difficulty, the aſſiſtance of a ſkilful male operator, with all proper inſtruments, ſhould be provided in due time, but certainly not employed unleſs abſolutely needed. In thoſe caſes, whether of deformity or not, in which ſome aſſiſtance, but not that of chirurgical inſtruments, is needed, I conceive it may be given as well, and probably better, for a moſt obvious reaſon, by a woman.

I conſider bearing children as exactly on the ſame footing with performing the more common offices of nature. Every lady who experiences preternatural difficulty or impediment on any ſuch occaſion, and is thereby expoſed to diſeaſe or danger, ought unqueſtionably to receive ſuch aſſiſtance as her ſituation requires: and all of us, I am ſure, Phyſicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, in our ſeveral capacities, will at all times be found eager to render her every ſervice in our power. But unleſs there be abſolute ne-

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ceſſity for it, I ſhould think it indelicate and improper for any male perſon to give his manual aſſiſtance: and I ſhould think it amply ſufficient for all purpoſes of ſafety and dignity, on ſuch occaſions, and alſo more conſiſtent with the vulgar notions of decency and delicacy, if a Knight of the diſcreeteſt, or, according to the rank and fortune of the Lady, two or more ſuch Knights, properly armed and accoutred, ſhould mount guard at her Ladyſhip's door.

The remark with which my father has introduced the paſſage that I have quoted from his *Comparative View*, I know, is not ſtrictly accurate: it muſt be underſtood with certain limitations and exceptions. The induſtry and patient obſervations of modern naturaliſts have aſcertained, that the females of ſome kinds of animals do really need aſſiſtance, and particularly the aſſiſtance of the male, in bringing forth their young. This is well known to be the caſe with the toad, and with ſome other loathſome reptiles: but it has never even been pretended, that ſuch is the caſe with any of thoſe animals whoſe bodily conſtitution and functions moſt nearly reſemble our own; and whom we, perhaps fooliſhly and preſumptuouſly, call the nobler and more perfect animals. In ſtrict philoſophical propriety, we muſt admit, that all the productions of nature are good and perfect. Even the ingenious Frenchman, to whom we owe that intereſting diſcovery with reſpect to the toad, introduces his account of it by wiſhing, for the benefit of ſome readers, that what he was to tell us had related rather to pigeons and turtle-doves, than to a kind of animal that we cannot think of without horror: but he adds very ſagaciouſly, that the imagination and the eyes *du Phyſicien* are not ſo delicate. (See *Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences*, 1741; Article, *Crapaud male Accoucheur de ſa femelle.)* Such being, for reaſons which we do not fully underſtand, the wiſe inſtitution of nature with reſpect to that animal, it is evidently as proper

and becoming, for the male toad to give his aſſiſtance, and for the female to receive it, when ſhe is in labour, as it is for men and women to become fathers and mothers. But men and women are not toads; nor under any obligation, phyſical or moral, that I can perceive, to follow their example in that reſpect.

If the caſe were not real, and ſo recent, as to be ſtill freſh in the memory of many thouſands not near ſo old as I am, it would be thought a moſt extravagant fiction, to ſtate, by way of illuſtration of my opinion on this ſubject, what was propoſed, and in ſome meaſure done, by a certain unworthy member of our moſt noble Faculty. This celebrated Mountebank, obſerving how many difficulties and deficiencies often occur, with reſpect to that function which muſt always precede the bearing of children, and is therefore juſt as neceſſary to the proſperity, and even to the exiſtence of every State; knowing alſo how often ſuch deficiencies and diſeaſes are the objects of regular medical practice in private; nobly reſolved to make his ſuperior knowledge of that branch of phyſic a public benefit, for the good of his country. In proſecution of this generous and ſpirited plan, he publicly read lectures on generation, in London, Edinburgh, Glaſgow, and, I believe, ſeveral other cities of this kingdom. He alſo fitted up, and opened for public uſe, a ſplendid temple of Health, as he called it, and a ſtill more ſplendid temple of Hymen: in one or both of which temples, the roſy Goddeſs of Health appeared *in propria perſona*, and diſpenſed very freely her healthful favours among her ardent votaries. If my memory does not greatly deceive me, his temple of Hymen was within a few doors of his Majeſty's palace of St James's. I believe he had in that temple ſeveral convenient chambers, for the ſake of Clinical practice: but he had one in particular fitted up in a ſtyle of extraordinary magnificence, with what he called a celeſtial bed, and a moſt ſplendid electrical apparatus; and many other contrivances, aërial, etherial, and magnetical; with which

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he was to perform miracles, and to enable many great and gay people to become fathers or mothers; which honour, without his aid, they had no chance of attaining. As his doctrine and practice were equally repugnant to decency and common ſenſe, and as there are no bounds to the folly and credulity of the people among whom he practiſed, I have no doubt that the faſhion ſo auſpiciouſly begun by him would ſoon have become general, at leaſt among the rich and great. But the genial Doctor's too ardent zeal for his favourite ſcience carried him a ſtep too far: it carried him to Dublin. Thither he went expreſs, to teach and help Iriſhmen to beget children. One bold Scotchman, to the immortal honour of our country be it known, went ſingly to attack a great and gallant people on their ſtrong corner. Such an inſult could not be endured by any people; leaſt of all by the choſen people of St Patrick: who, on this occaſion, behaved with infinitely more ſpirit and good ſenſe, than the inhabitants of either end of this Iſland had ſhown. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, feeling no doubt his own ſhare of the indignity, threatened to ſend him to Bridewell: and meaſures, as I have been told, were actually concerted for toſſing him in a blanket at his firſt lecture. But the genial Doctor, underſtanding his danger, by a quick retreat, eſcaped the fate of Sancho Panza; leaving however the men of Ireland as ignorant, and as incapable as he found them, of their firſt great duty as men and citizens. Yet we hear of no complaints, from that country, of ignorance, incapacity, or neglect of that duty; nor has there been any failure in its population: And I firmly believe, that the caſe would have been the ſame, and that the females would have done their part of that firſt duty to their country juſt as well, if they had had as little aſſiſtance from Men-Midwives, as the males had from that illuſtrious Mountebank.

There remain yet to be conſidered two very ſplendid paſſages of Mr John Bell's pamphlet, deeply intereſting to the Managers and to the public; and well worthy of ample diſcuſſion, both on account of their ſuperior rhetorical merit, and alſo for the atrocity of the miſrepreſentations which they contain.

The firſt of theſe occurs in the 38th page of his ſecond ſection; in the preceding part of which, he has given a very ample and eloquent account " of the origin and nature of the connection be-" twixt the Royal Infirmary and the College of Surgeons." Under this head, he details very fully the great and various merits of the Surgeons, both active and paſſive, with reſpect to the Infirmary: I mean both all the good that they have done, and all the evil that they have ſuffered; that is, in plain Engliſh, all the evils, inconveniencies, and dangers, which *their patients* have ſuffered, by their connection with this Hoſpital; for all of which, it appears that he thinks the Surgeons well entitled to take great credit and merit to themſelves. This detail occupies full twelve pages of his Anſwer to me, namely, from page 26. to 38. of his ſecond ſection. To theſe pages, by far too long to quote here, I beg leave to refer the curious or diſtruſtful reader. After enumerating the many evils to which the patients were expoſed, he finiſhes his grand enumeration and climax of the ſufferings of the patients, and the merits of the Surgeons, in theſe memorable words: " Worſe than all, our " patients are expoſed to infections from the Medical Wards, and " eſpecially to a diſeaſe, the Hoſpital ſore, which ſeizes all thoſe " who have even the ſmalleſt inciſions practiſed upon them: it in-" fects all the ulcers, changes the ſlighteſt ſores into gangrenes; " and this diſeaſe, which is frequent, in exact proportion to the " ſize of an Hoſpital, is ſo peculiar, that it is named Hoſpital-" gangrene. It is like a plague; it rages twice a year in ſuch a

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" degree, that the nurſes even are infected; the ſlighteſt ſcratch in " their fingers turns out a moſt formidable ſore, and at certain " ſeaſons no operation can be ſafely performed."

This paſſage well deſerves to be conſidered more ways than one; rhetorically, phyſically, logically, and morally. Conſidered rhetorically, it is evidently beyond all praiſe; it is indeed ſuch a ſplendid example of ſuperior genius, as probably no man in the world but Mr John Bell could have thought of. In this point of view, it is no leſs than a bold attempt to ſnatch my own ſtick out of my hand, and with it to knock me down.

To explain this, I muſt quote a paſſage from my former Memorial, (page 24th), to ſhow in what cautious and general terms I had alluded to that cruel evil, which Mr John Bell ſo boldly thruſts in our faces, and ſeems to take delight in exaggerating to the utmoſt. After mentioning many advantages which might reaſonably be expected from the attendance of a Surgeon permanently appointed for the Hoſpital-duty, I add the following paragraph.

" Moreover, ſuch a Surgeon, in the courſe of his attendance in " an Hoſpital, has opportunities of obſerving many defects or " errors, in the general ſyſtem of management, with reſpect to " the patients in his department; has time to conſider how they " may beſt be ſupplied or corrected; to propoſe plans of improve- " ment, and to get theſe introduced, and fairly tried and adopted. " This is always an ungracious taſk, and a work of much time " and labour; foraſmuch as it never fails to meet with ſtrong op- " poſition, from the force of habit, the prejudices, the pride, the " lazineſs and the obſtinacy of thoſe who muſt execute the plans " propoſed."

This delicate alluſion to evils but too generally known, I conceived to be ſufficient for my purpoſe. It could not fail to be underſtood by every Surgeon, and by almoſt every Student, who had

had attended in this Hoſpital. If any of the Managers, not of the Medical profeſſion, did not underſtand it ſufficiently, it could eaſily have been explained to them privately; but I ſhould have been ſorry, without neceſſity, to have ſhocked the public, and eſpecially the ſick poor, with the knowledge of all the horrid evils, and the apprehenſion of the worſt dangers, to which thoſe were expoſed who were admitted into the Surgeons Wards: even though I firmly believed, and do ſtill believe, that thoſe evils and dangers to which I alluded with ſo much reſerve, and which Mr John Bell has proclaimed with no reſerve at all, were purely the *fault* of *ſome* of the attending Surgeons, and ultimately of that ſyſtem of their indiſcriminate attendance by rotation, which it was my object to get aboliſhed. I muſt alſo declare, that, till I read his Anſwer to me, I had never ſeen or heard ſo dreadful an account of that evil. For good reaſons, however, I ſhall not diſpute his *fact*, but let him and his friends take it as he has ſtated it, and as they have adopted and ſanctioned his ſtatement of it: let them make the moſt or the worſt of their own fact; remembering always, that, along with it, they muſt take its neceſſary conſequences, which are conſiderably different from what they thought of. Some of theſe neceſſary conſequences, implied in their own fact as ſtated by themſelves, I ſhall take the liberty to point out to them. I beg it may be obſerved alſo, that while, in compliment to them, I admit *their fact* in all its horrors, I do not admit their theory with reſpect to the cauſe of it. This point, which is of much importance, muſt be determined by evidence of a kind very different from an aſſertion of Mr John Bell, or a vote of thanks of his clients.

All that I alluded to, in the paſſage quoted from my former Memorial, indeed all that I had ever known or heard of, with reſpect to the evils alluded to in that paragraph, was only, that *ſometimes*, from neglect of due ventilation and cleanlineſs in the Surgeons Wards, the patients in them ſuffered ſeverely; a ſlight wound or

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ulcer in many cases degenerating into a bad spreading sore of great extent, scarce to be healed, sometimes running to gangrene, and attended with fever, and ultimately proving fatal. I understood likewise, that, in many instances, operations seemingly well performed, had been proved fatal, from the same causes: instead of good suppuration and healing, bad spreading ulceration, and gangrene, and fever, supervening upon them. I understood even that such bad condition of wounds or ulcers had sometimes spread in the Surgeons Wards of this Hospital, as in other hospitals, seemingly by contagion. I knew that this did not happen *always*; or even generally in this Hospital; and I thought I had known the reason of its sometimes happening, and sometimes not; namely, that some of the attending Surgeons were duly attentive to ventilation and cleanliness, with respect to which others of them were most culpably negligent. I had often heard that this difference in their conduct and practice in the Surgery Wards was very apparent; and I believed it without hesitation, because I knew, from repeated experience, that there were such differences among them, on those points, in private practice. I have had many occasions of observing, that, in the treatment of patients labouring under medical, not chirurgical diseases, for example fevers, some of them were as attentive as possible to ventilation and cleanliness, which others of them seemed never once to think of. As this latter mode of practice could not proceed entirely from ignorance, I judged that it was part of their system; of which indeed one or two of them gave me some pretty broad hints, when I urged the necessity of clean linen, open windows, and no fires. If they acted on the same principles in the Surgery Wards, I can have no doubt what the consequence must have been in two months, or even much less.——It may with some confidence be inferred from Mr John Bell's horrible account of the evils in question, that my notion of them when I wrote that paragraph last quoted

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from my former Memorial, was *not worſe* than the truth; and that the more particular account which I have here given of it is at leaſt no *exaggeration*. Nor, in my opinion, would it be going too far, to infer from the paſſage laſt quoted from Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, that he and his clients knew well that the evils in queſtion were too great and notorious to be denied, or concealed, or explained away: and that therefore, like a man of genius, and a great orator, he endeavoured to make the beſt he could of ſo bad a buſineſs; by proclaiming it in terms at leaſt as ſtrong as were conſiſtent with truth, but very dexterouſly transferring the reproach of it from the Surgeons to the Phyſicians. On this point Mr John Bell and I chiefly differ; and I fear we differ irreconcileably. Admitting his *fact*, or all his *facts*, as ſtated by himſelf, it is unqueſtionably reaſonable, and even neceſſary in point of ſcience, to enquire into the evidence of his *opinion* with reſpect to the *cauſe* of thoſe *facts*; namely, that the Hoſpital-gangrene, with all its horrible conſequences to the patients in the Surgeons Wards, is produced by infections from the Medical Wards. Though he has moſt rhetorically ſtated this *opinion* as a matter of *fact*, and in terms as ſtrong and poſitive as any of the facts and aſſertions with which it is blended, yet I cannot ſuppoſe either him, or any of his clients, ſo ignorant of ſcience, as not to know, that his account of the origin of that horrid diſeaſe, whether right or wrong, is but a matter of opinion or judgment, which, if juſt and true, may be proved by proper evidence, and which, if erroneous, may be diſproved, by accurate obſervations, and ſtrict inferences from theſe. And if by ſuch means it were completely diſproved, this would imply no impeachment of the probity and veracity of men who had *bona fide* believed and expreſſed that opinion; but only a little diminution of their character for accuracy in obſervation, and ſtrictneſs and ſoundneſs in reaſoning.

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As he has not condeſcended to mention the reaſons on which his opinion is founded, and as I never heard any reaſons aſſigned for ſuch an opinion, nor indeed ever heard of the opinion itſelf till I met with it in his pamphlet, it is equally unneceſſary and impoſſible to attempt to ſhow the fallacy of the obſervations, and the errors of the reaſoning, which led to that ſingular opinion. In ſtrict ſcientific propriety, his opinion on that point, juſt like his numerous facts already diſcuſſed in this Memorial, ought to go for nothing, and to be regarded as only a kind of dream, till ſome direct and complete proof of it be given. But, on ſo important a ſubject, it would be wrong to be very punctilious: and therefore, waving all ſuch conſiderations, I ſhall ſtate a few of the many reaſons which occur to me for thinking his opinion, or ſcientific fact, with reſpect to the origin of the hoſpital-gangrene in the ſurgeons wards, juſt as erroneous, and as impoſſible, as any of his other moſt ſplendid facts already conſidered.

Suppoſing, firſt, for the ſake of argument, that the medical wards were as full of infections as his heart could wiſh; ſuppoſing even that there were fifty patients in them ill of the plague; I do not believe, judging from the analogy of very numerous and accurate obſervations with reſpect to the ſpreading of diſeaſes by infection, that ſuch infections could reach the ſurgeons wards, ſo as to produce any diſeaſe in the patients in them. It is known in fact, that the plague itſelf does not ſpread to any conſiderable diſtance through the air, and that, by avoiding contact, or very cloſe communication, with thoſe ill of the plague, the danger of catching it by infection is effectually precluded. A few years ago, this was tried with ſucceſs, in very unfavourable circumſtances, on board a great ſhip of war, (the Theſeus of 74 guns), on the coaſt of Syria. Four or five French priſoners, ill of the plague, were received on board that ſhip. One of them, an officer, was allowed a cabin to himſelf; the reſt of them were kept together in a ſmall place (birth), ſeparated from the reſt of the crew only

by a partition of painted canvas. In this ſituation they recovered: the officer, ſeemingly by his own obſtinacy, died: but what is of much more conſequence, by that judicious care of Mr Tainſh, the ſurgeon of the Theſeus, the ſpreading of the plague from the infected priſoners to the crew, in number above five hundred, was completely prevented. Numberleſs other facts of the ſame kind, and perfectly well atteſted, with reſpect to the preventing contagious fevers from ſpreading, may be found in the writings of Dr Haygarth, and of many other eminent Phyſicians, who, within theſe twenty years, have attended, minutely and judiciouſly, to that important ſubject.

Suppoſing, ſecondly, ſtill for the ſake of argument, that *infections* of any kind, or of all kinds that are known, of common continued fever with or without ſpots, of ſmall-pox, meaſles, ſcarlet fever, eryſipelas, dyſentery, hooping-cough, &c. from the medical wards, may reach the ſurgeons wards of this Infirmary, in ſuch a degree of concentration and force as to be highly noxious, I do not believe that they would produce the hoſpital-gangrene in any of the ſurgeons patients: nor can I believe that ſuch infections ſhould produce one kind of effect in patients who have wounds or ulcers, and their own ſpecific but very different effects in patients who have ſound ſkins. But as there are at leaſt as great differences with reſpect to faith, as to underſtanding and knowledge, among Phyſicians and Surgeons, I have no doubt that ſome will be found with faith enough to believe intuitively all thoſe propoſitions which to me appear to require the moſt ample and rigorous proof.

I ſhall therefore endeavour to ſhew, that the opinion in queſtion *muſt* be erroneous, for as much as it implies, by *neceſſary conſequence*, certain inferences, which are notoriouſly falſe in point of fact. One of the moſt obvious of theſe is the following. If infections, or noxious effluvia, from the medical wards, can reach the

the ſurgeons wards, by the windows, or the ſtair-caſes, or the cloaths of thoſe whoſe duty it is to go into every part of the Hoſpital, the ſame infections, or effluvia, *muſt* be infinitely more copious, more concentrated and ſtrong, and therefore much more noxious, in the medical wards themſelves, from which they proceed; and therefore in theſe wards they *muſt neceſſarily* produce at leaſt the ſame bad effects, but probably much worſe effects of the ſame kind, which Mr John Bell aſſerts they produce in the ſurgeons wards. But it never was even pretended that this happened in the medical wards, to thoſe patients, on whom the ſlighteſt, or not the ſlighteſt, inciſions and excoriations have been performed. In the common medical, in the clinical, in the fever wards, juſt as readily as in the ſurgeons wards, the nurſes ſcratch their hands and fingers: nay I have known them, even when there were patients in the clinical wards ill of infectious fevers, ſcratch one another's faces very handſomely, and not very ſlightly, having got drunk with the wine which I had preſcribed for thoſe patients. But I never knew nor heard of one of them getting the hoſpital-gangrene on her hands or face from ſuch ſcratches. Some patients are occaſionally admitted into the common medical and clinical wards, with ſimple, or ſcrofulous, or ſyphilitic, or cancerous ulcers; and hundreds of patients in theſe wards, every year, undergo ſlight inciſions or wounds, by bleeding, either with the lancet or with leeches, or by cupping and ſcarifying, by opening impoſthumes, by puncturing, or by tapping for dropſies of different kinds; and worſe than all, undergo ample excoriation, by bliſters, without getting hoſpital-gangrene, or any thing like it; nay ſuch excoriations and ſmall inciſions, as by bleeding with the lancet or leeches, are often performed on patients actually labouring under the infectious fever, without inducing any hoſpital-gangrene: and ſometimes, in the courſe of ſuch fevers, though much leſs frequently in the Hoſpital than in private practice among the

lower orders of people, common black gangrene has taken place in ſome of the parts on which the patient had chiefly reſted; which black gangrene has ſeparated, and healed, in the common manner, without exhibiting any of the peculiar ſymptoms of the hoſpital-ſore. The ſame has occurred, within my obſervation, in ſeveral inſtances of gangrene in dropſical limbs, both from their burſting ſpontaneouſly, (as it is called), and from their being punctured to prevent their burſting, and to relieve the urgent ſymptoms of the diſeaſe. The ſame has alſo happened, within my knowledge, when the bliſtered parts gangrened in patients ill of very bad infectious fevers: but this is ſo rare an occurrence, that, to the beſt of my remembrance, I have not ſeen one inſtance of it theſe twenty years.

From all that I have had occaſion to know of the medical and the ſurgeons wards in this Hoſpital, and from all that I have heard or read of the hoſpital-gangrene, far from believing that in the Surgeons patients it is produced by infections from the medical wards, I ſtrongly ſuſpect, and almoſt believe, that ſome patients labouring under that diſeaſe might have been cured, if they had been removed from the ſurgeons to the phyſicians wards; that is, removed from foul, into comparatively pure air. I have read of a patient recovering of the ſame gangrene, in the hoſpital at Lyons, by being laid in a cold door-caſe; and of ſeveral patients in the Hotel Dieu at Paris, ill of different diſeaſes, who were ſuppoſed to be in the laſt agonies, and on that account were removed from the common wards, that they might die without diſturbing their neighbours, and yet recovered on being laid in the *Salle des agoniſans*; where, without being tormented by unavailing or perhaps abſurd medical practice, they had the advantage of breathing purer and cooler air than they had enjoyed from the moment that they were admitted into that great but ill-managed hoſpital. Though I am ſenſible it would be criminal to try

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the experiment, yet I think it highly probable, that a patient who has juſt undergone a capital operation, would have a much better chance of a good and ſpeedy recovery, if laid in the fever-ward, clean, and well ventilated, as it is, than he would have had if laid in the ſurgeons ward, in that ſtate of cleanlineſs and ventilation which has ſometimes prevailed in it.

From the very confident manner in which the hoſpital-gangrene in the Surgeons patients is attributed to infections from the medical wards, it ſhould ſeem, that neither Mr John Bell nor his clients had any notion, that *infections*, I mean infectious fevers of the worſt kind, could begin in Surgeons patients, either from want of cleanlineſs and ventilation, implying the accumulation, and perhaps the corruption of the ordinary effluvia of the human body, or, in addition to theſe, from the peculiarly noxious effluvia from wounds, ulcers, and gangrenes, which are ſuch frequent objects of chirurgical practice, and ſo ſtrongly require particular attention to ventilation and cleanlineſs. It is ſo generally and juſtly thought needleſs at leaſt, if not fooliſh, to diſpute about names and words, that few people can prevail on themſelves to attend patiently to ſuch a diſcuſſion, even in the few caſes in which it is really of importance. That there are ſuch caſes appears to me certain; nor ſhould I ſcruple to ſay, that, in every caſe in which a word or name is explained or defined, or, even without explanation or definition, is uſed and applied, to expreſs an erroneous or hypothetical opinion or notion with reſpect to the thing denoted by it, then it becomes neceſſary, for the purpoſes of candid and good reaſoning, to ſhow the errors and imperfections of the notion or opinion expreſſed by ſuch an improper word or phraſe. Of this there cannot be a ſtronger proof, or better illuſtration, than Mr John Bell has given us, in the uſe which he has made of the phraſe hoſpital-gangrene. This phraſe, conſidered by itſelf, is as intelligible and as innocent, as the common phraſes, jail-fever, ſea-ſcurvy, French diſeaſe, or St Vitus's dance.

dance. But if theſe ſeveral names were employed to denote, not merely certain diſeaſes, that is, particular combinations and ſucceſſions of ſymptoms, which might be faithfully deſcribed and eaſily known, but alſo certain opinions with reſpect to the cauſes of thoſe diſeaſes, it would be proper to enquire into the juſtneſs of theſe opinions; and to proteſt againſt ſuch of them as were found to be either poſitively erroneous, or at beſt only hypothetical, as not being eſtabliſhed by any competent evidence. For example, if an author, on the faith or force of the term *ſea-ſcurvy*, ſhould take it into his head to maintain, that this diſeaſe was produced only by the ſea, and its ſalt and moiſt effluvia, and never could take place on ſhore; and that it could neither be prevented nor cured in people who continued long at ſea: if another author ſhould maintain, that the diſeaſe called the jail-fever could be produced only in a jail, and could neither be prevented nor cured in people who were confined in jails: and if another author ſhould maintain, that the French diſeaſe could be got only in France, and was entirely produced by the infectious air of that country: all theſe opinions, though ſeemingly implied in the names of the diſeaſes, and almoſt admitted and ſanctioned by all who uſed thoſe names, would be great and pernicious errors. Every perſon, of competent underſtanding and knowledge, would think them as abſurd, as the perſuaſion that the diſeaſe called St Vitus's Dance, was produced only by the operation of that Saint, as a puniſhment on thoſe who had neglected the annual worſhip at his ſhrine, and was to be cured only by the patients going to his ſhrine, and there dancing till they were heartily tired, and fell to the ground.

Such imaginary caſes as I have ſtated, may well appear too extravagant even for illuſtration; yet they are little, if at all worſe than the real caſe, which Mr John Bell has exhibited ſeriouſly, in the account that he gives of the hoſpital-gangrene. Not content with the uſe of the phraſe to denote the diſeaſe in queſtion,

which

which could not have been made the ſubject of diſpute or animadverſion, he has thought fit to make it the groundwork of his own theory with reſpect to the cauſe of the diſeaſe; of that theory which is calculated to transfer the blame of it from the Surgeons to the Phyſicians. He tells us, that this diſeaſe is produced by *infections from the medical wards;* that it is frequent in *exact proportion* to the ſize of an hoſpital; that it ſeizes *all* thoſe who have even the *ſmalleſt inciſions* practiſed upon them; that it is like a *plague*; that it *rages twice a-year* in ſuch a degree that the nurſes even are infected; that the *ſlighteſt ſcratch* in their fingers turns out a moſt formidable ſore; and that at *certain ſeaſons* no operations can be *ſafely* performed. Theſe are the points which I think deſerve to be conſidered logically, and phyſically; as affording the moſt ſatisfactory proof of the vaſt progreſs which Mr John Bell and his clients have made both in logical and phyſical ſcience.

Firſt, let us conſider what is obviouſly implied in its being frequent in *exact proportion* to the ſize of an hoſpital, and in its raging in *this* Hoſpital *twice a-year* like a plague. From theſe two propoſitions, it follows, by neceſſary conſequence, that in an hoſpital half the ſize of ours it *muſt* rage but once a-year; that in an hoſpital the fourth part of the ſize of ours it *muſt* rage but once in two years; that in an hoſpital the tenth part of the ſize of ours, and containing only fifteen or twenty patients, it *muſt* rage once, and but once, in five years; but that in an hoſpital twice the ſize of ours, it *muſt* rage four times, and not oftener, in a year; that in an hoſpital ten times the ſize of ours, and containing 1500 or 2000 patients, it *muſt* rage twenty times in a year. But as the diſeaſe, in any one patient, laſts generally from one to three or four weeks, and moreover ſpreads, by contagion, from one patient to another, in an hoſpital ten times, or even four times, the ſize of ours, it *muſt* conſtantly rage like a plague; and therefore every patient admitted into ſuch an hoſpital, whether under the care of the Phyſicians or Surgeons, provided only he has any the ſmalleſt incifion performed

formed upon him, *muſt*, *ipſo facto*, be ſeized with hoſpital-gangrene: no operation can be ſafely performed in ſuch an hoſpital; nay ſcarce without the *certainty* of death to the patient; and every nurſe who ſcratches her own finger, or gets her face ſcratched by one of the ſiſterhood, *muſt* alſo get the hoſpital-gangrene, and probably rot and die with it.

In another point of view, the aſſertions, that it is produced by *infections from the medical wards*, that it rages *twice a-year*, and that it is frequent in *exact proportion* to the ſize of an hoſpital, are abſolutely inconſiſtent. If it rages in this hoſpital twice a-year, it *muſt* proceed from a cauſe, or combination of cauſes, which occurs twice a-year, and no oftener. If that ſuppoſed cauſe were conſtantly preſent, as the effluvia from the medical wards muſt be, or even occurred oftener than twice a-year, while yet the aſſigned effect of it occurred but twice in the ſame time, it would be a proof that the aſſigned cauſe was not the real cauſe of the effect in queſtion: and if the diſeaſe, the ſuppoſed effect, occurred oftener than its aſſigned cauſe was applied, it would be a proof that it proceeded, not from that, but from ſome other cauſe.

Theſe propoſitions, which appear abſtruſe and obſcure, perhaps even doubtful, when expreſſed in general terms, will be found perfectly intelligible, and obvious to every capacity, nay quite familiar to the thoughts of men, when illuſtrated by proper examples. The equinoxes, as every body knows, occur twice a-year. Some portion of ſcientific knowledge muſt be acquired before a perſon can underſtand what combination of cauſes produces that equality of day and night: but every ploughman and day-labourer, who has but common ſenſe, muſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand and believe that it depends on ſomething as its cauſe, which occurs twice a-year, and no oftener. New moon and full moon occur each of them between twelve and thirteen times in a year; and every perſon of common ſenſe muſt underſtand, that the cauſes of them reſpectively occur juſt as often in the year; and

every

every ſuch perſon would perceive and be ſhocked with the abſurdity of ſuppoſing the equinoxes produced by a cauſe which occurred at leaſt once every month, and of ſuppoſing the changes of the moon, as they occur every month, to proceed from a cauſe which occurred only twice a-year. I preſume every perſon who knows that the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours, whether he knows or does not know the combination of cauſes which produces this effect, muſt believe that ſuch combination of cauſes occurs juſt as often as its effect; and every perſon who knows that the time of the ebbing and flowing of the tide changes from day to day to all times of the day and night, muſt believe that the cauſe of ſuch ebbing and flowing varies as much and as regularly in the time of its recurrence.

In another point of view, the aſſertion, that the hoſpital-gangrene is frequent in *exact proportion* to the ſize of an hoſpital, neceſſarily excludes the influence of all other circumſtances, either as means of preventing it, or as ſecondary, concurrent, and acceſſory cauſes in producing it. For example, if, in conſequence of the *exact ſize* of this Infirmary, the hoſpital-gangrene rages in it like a plague exactly twice a-year, no degree of attention to cleanlineſs and ventilation, no care that can be employed to keep the patients in good pure air, to keep them from getting drunk, perhaps with whiſky, and from lying, perhaps in the ſtreets, expoſed to cold and wet when they are drunk, no care or ſkill in medical or chirurgical treatment, can prevent that horrid diſeaſe from raging like a plague juſt twice a-year. But, on the other hand, no degree of negligence with reſpect to cleanlineſs and ventilation, not even the utmoſt privation of pure good air that is conſiſtent with life, or the total want of clean linen to their perſons and beds, or the greateſt filthineſs in which they could be kept, or their getting drunk with whiſky ſix days of the week, could make the patients in this In-

firmary ſubject to the hoſpital-gangrene more frequently than twice a-year.

On the other hand, if it is admitted that theſe circumſtances, favourable or unfavourable, have any effect either in producing or preventing the hoſpital-gangrene, or in making it either more or leſs frequent than it would be in the oppoſite circumſtances; then *neceſſarily* Mr John Bell's propoſition at preſent under review *muſt* be falſe: that is to ſay, the diſeaſe in queſtion cannot be frequent in exact proportion to the ſize of an hoſpital. It then becomes a fair and rational ſubject of enquiry, by obſervations at leaſt, partly even by experiments, and ſtrict deduction from theſe, to aſcertain what and how great their effects are, and whether by due attention to thoſe things which are favourable, ſuch an hoſpital as this, or even one forty times as large, may be altogether preſerved from the prevalence of the hoſpital-gangrene in it, or at leaſt how near it is poſſible to come to this moſt deſirable end. It would be equally fair and rational to aſcertain by obſervation, though not by wilful or contrived experiments, whether the ſmalleſt hoſpital, eſpecially if it were crowded with patients, and theſe were kept very dirty and in bad air, might not be ſubject to the ravages of the hoſpital-gangrene very frequently.

Notwithſtanding his very confident aſſertion of the doctrine in queſtion, and their conduct in adopting and ſanctioning it, I doubt much whether Mr John Bell or his clients will think any ſuch obſervations or experiments neceſſary to enable them to judge what would be the reſult of ſuch an inveſtigation. I do not believe that any of them would heſitate even a moment to give the *proper* anſwers to ſuch queſtions as the following. Suppoſing the ſize of this Infirmary to remain as at preſent, but only twelve or fourteen patients to be received into it, and theſe patients to be laid only one in each ward, and all of them to have either

either wounds or ulcers, no matter whether from operation or accident; would theſe patients be ſubject to the hoſpital-gangrene twice in the year, or oftener, or ſeldomer; or would they be ſubject to it at all? If two or three, or at the utmoſt a very few patients, ſo as not nearly half to fill the wards, were received into them, and if they and the wards were kept uniformly clean and well ventilated, would ſuch patients be expoſed to the ravages of the hoſpital-gangrene? If all the wards in the Hoſpital were crowded to the utmoſt with ſuch patients, and theſe patients were allowed to remain as dirty, and in as foul air as poſſible, would they be exempt from the ravages of the hoſpital-gangrene, or would they be moſt deplorably ſubject to it? Laſtly, if, inſtead of a great hoſpital, a ſmall houſe, or even a ſingle bed-chamber of ordinary ſize, for example, a room of ſixteen feet ſquare, and ten high, were made the ſcene of obſervation and experiment, and if in ſuch a room ten or a dozen ſuch patients were laid, with no attention to ventilation and cleanlineſs; would the diſeaſe in queſtion never appear among them? And, on the contrary, if in ſuch a room only two or three patients were laid, and theſe were kept very clean, and in pure air, would they be ſubject to the hoſpital-gangrene? Theſe different views of the ſame queſtion I have ſtated at full length, not merely to explain and eſtabliſh that opinion, with reſpect to the origin and ſpreading of the hoſpital-gangrene, which, from all that I have read, and all that I have heard about it, I believe to be true; but much more in order to ſhow, that thoſe who had ſo boldly aſſerted a very different opinion with reſpect to it, had not believed the opinion which they aſſerted. If they think I do them any injuſtice, in this very unfavourable inference, they can eaſily refute it, and vindicate themſelves, which I ſhall be happy to ſee them do, by declaring explicitly, that they believe all thoſe inferences which correſpond with their doctrine are true, and will be found ſo

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whenever they are tried experimentally; and on the other hand, that all thoſe inferences, to which I have alluded, which are inconſiſtent with their doctrine, appear to them falſe and incredible; and that they will be found falſe when brought to the teſt of obſervation and experiment. It will alſo be proper, for very obvious reaſons, that they ſhould authenticate ſuch declaration of their hoſpital-creed, by putting their names to it; elſe probably many people will be ſo fooliſh and incredulous, as to think it impoſſible that any individuals of the medical profeſſion ſhould be ſo ignorant, or ſo inſane, as to hold ſuch opinions. It may fairly be preſumed, notwithſtanding their acknowledged ignorance of logic, which Mr John Bell, in his own name and that of his clients, has moſt explicitly avowed in the 16th page of his firſt ſection, that none of them will attempt to maintain a propoſition, and yet deny its neceſſary conſequences; or will expect any credit for the belief which they expreſs, when they perceive intuitively, without the help of obſervation or experiment, that all the inferences from it are falſe.

I have no pretenſions, from my own experience, to offer any opinion with reſpect to the cauſes, the cure, or the prevention of hoſpital-gangrene: and I ſtrongly ſuſpect that many things relating to it ſtill remain to be aſcertained by obſervation, experiment, and ſtrict induction from theſe. From Dr Rollo's obſervations on this ſubject, it ſeems highly probable, if not quite certain, that, beſides the common well known eryſipelas, (in Scotland commonly called the *Roſe*, and in England, *St Anthony's Fire*), there are at leaſt two different *kinds* of hoſpital-gangrene; probably each produced by its own ſpecific cauſe, and capable of being propagated by its own peculiar contagion, unleſs this be prevented by cleanlineſs and ventilation. Perhaps further more enlarged and accurate obſervations may ſhew that there are *many* kinds *(genera* or *ſpecies)* of bad ſuppuration, as there certainly are

of

of inflammation; and that ſeveral of thoſe bad kinds of ſuppuration may ſpread by contagion in ill ventilated hoſpitals; as all of them may occaſionally be received into every hoſpital, or begin in any one, whether great or ſmall.

Whatever may be the reſult of ſuch ſpeculations and enquiries, I believe more than enough is already known, by ſad experience, of the hoſpital-gangrene, to enable us to pronounce with certainty, firſt, that it is *not* frequent in *exact* proportion, or in *any* proportion, to the ſize of an hoſpital; ſecondly, that it is frequent in hoſpitals, or particular wards of hoſpitals, *nearly* in the *inverſe* proportion of the ventilation and cleanlineſs preſerved in them reſpectively; that is, *almoſt* in the *direct* proportion of the badneſs of the air, and the dirtineſs in which the patients are kept: I ſay *nearly* and *almoſt* in theſe proportions; for I conceive it to be aſcertained that ſome other circumſtances have influence, though much leſs general and powerful influence than thoſe which I mentioned, in producing, or aſſiſting to produce, that terrible diſeaſe occaſionally in a few individuals. Many cauſes of general weakneſs, ſuch as previous or attending diſeaſes, intemperance, eſpecially in ſpirituous liquors, and ſometimes, as I think I have ſeen in more than one inſtance, ſevere, long continued, or frequently repeated courſes of mercury, ſeem to have had that effect. Or if thoſe examples of bad, ſpreading, gangrenous ulceration, which I have ſometimes ſeen under the improper uſe of mercury, be not proper inſtances of hoſpital-gangrene, at leaſt they are very like it, and the one kind of bad ſuppuration may very properly be employed to illuſtrate the other.

I have uſed alſo the general term *bad* or *foul* air, without preſuming to form any opinion of the number and nature of the various noxious effluvia with which the air in an hoſpital, or not in an hoſpital, may be loaded and tainted. I do not preſume even to judge how much of the bad effect to which I allude is

to

to be attributed to the great abundance of ſuch noxious effluvia blended with the air, and how much of it is owing to the want of a due proportion of that peculiar element, and conſtituent part of common air, which is immediately neceſſary to the ſupport of life and health, and which in one way or other ſeems to be conſumed and waſted by the functions of life, eſpecially by breathing. It ſeems more than probable, that both the deficiency of good air, and the great abundance of noxious effluvia, contribute to make the air in hoſpitals bad, noxious, and almoſt poiſonous, unleſs great and unremitting attention be given to ventilation and cleanlineſs: for the uſeful practical inference is the ſame on either ſuppoſition. I remember to have ſeen a calculation by ſome of the French Academicians, who endeavoured to make known, and of courſe to reform, ſome of the worſt abuſes that prevailed in the Hotel Dieu at Paris, particularly with reſpect to that moſt eſſential article, *air*. In this attempt they met with all poſſible oppoſition from thoſe who had the management of the hoſpital; but, in ſpite of them and their oppoſition, the philoſophers found means to aſcertain the dimenſions, length, breadth, and height, of one of the great wards, and alſo the number of patients who were kept in it. From theſe principles they proved, by an eaſy and ſatisfactory calculation, that if the ward had been made quite cloſe (hermetically ſealed) at night, all the patients in it *muſt* have been *dead* before morning. I have forgotten the exact number of hours, nor is that a point of any conſequence, in which they muſt all have periſhed, partly by the accumulation of their own bad effluvia, but ſtill more for want of the proper vital part of the air, which is conſumed in breathing, by every adult perſon, at the rate of about a gallon of common air in a minute, or a hogſhead in an hour. Every defect of that degree of ventilation and cleanlineſs which is neceſſary to preſerve people in health and vigour, is an *approach* to that poiſonous ſtate of the air, ſo well pointed

pointed out by the French Academicians as the *neceſſary* and *ſpeedy* conſequence of *no ventilation at all.* Such an approach, from that very cauſe, may occur in a ward filled with ſurgery patients, as well as in a ward filled with patients wholly under the care of phyſicians. Nay, it is ſtill more likely to occur in a ward filled with ſurgery patients, when any of theſe, as muſt often happen, are affected with bad ulcers, carious bones, or common gangrene. We have even preciſe obſervations which prove that the jail or hoſpital fever, in its worſt form, has originated in a ſurgery ward, ſeemingly by the poiſonous effluvia proceeding from one mortified limb. (See Sir John Pringle's Obſervations on the Diſeaſes of the Army, edit. 6. 1768, page 15. and 288.).

As the air in a ſurgery ward is peculiarly liable to be tainted by ſuch very offenſive and noxious effluvia, ſtrict attention to ventilation and cleanlineſs, in order to prevent their accumulation and bad effects, muſt be at leaſt as neceſſary in wards under the ſole care of ſurgeons, as in thoſe which are entirely under the management of phyſicians. But I ſcarce think it will be aſſerted, and I am ſure it will not be believed, by any who have competent means of knowledge, that this has *always* been the caſe with the ſurgeons wards in this Hoſpital. I have even heard it maintained, as a kind of excuſe for a fact which could not be denied, that it was *impoſſible* to have the ſurgeons wards as well ventilated as thoſe of the phyſicians; partly by reaſon of the diſeaſes treated in them, partly becauſe the wards themſelves were not ſo high in the ceiling as the phyſicians wards. To this circumſtance there is a ſtrong alluſion in Mr John Bell's own pamphlet, ſect. 2. page 43. As to the former conſideration, I conſider it as the ſtrongeſt poſſible reaſon for paying the greateſt and moſt unremitting attention to cleanlineſs and ventilation in ſurgery wards; by which means there can be no doubt that all ſuch offenſiveneſs and danger as I allude to may effectually be prevented, though perhaps this will require

quire more care and labour than in medical wards. As to the ſecond circumſtance, the lowneſs of the ceiling of the ſurgeons wards, it ſeems to me of very little conſequence; for in the middle, and by far the greater part of them, the height of the ceiling is juſt the ſame as in the phyſicians wards, and it is only towards the ſides that the ſpace is a very little curtailed (perhaps *one hundredth* part) by the ſlope of the ceiling: and this, I conceive, muſt be fully compenſated by the ventilators which are placed in the middle of the roof, and which the phyſicians wards cannot have. At any rate, there are oppoſite windows in all thoſe wards, by which, if properly employed, abundant ventilation might be procured; more even than enough; more than would be proper or ſafe for all the patients. But this important point is not a mere matter of opinion. The two ſmall wards in the wings of the ſame attick ſtory with the ſurgeons wards, and which have the ſame height and form of the ceiling, have been found to admit of perfect ventilation and cleanlineſs, when under the management of the Phyſicians, even though filled with patients whoſe caſes required that attention the moſt; I mean patients labouring under contagious fevers. One of theſe ſmall wards is at preſent, and has been for ſeveral years, employed as the womens fever-ward; and is cleaner and better ventilated than moſt bed-chambers in Edinburgh. The oppoſite ſmall ward (commonly called the operation ward) which the ſurgeons have had the uſe of for ſeveral years, was for many years before employed as the mens fever-ward.

Another fact, equally in point, deſerves attention. For two years now, the indiſcriminate attendance of all the Surgeons in quick rotation has been aboliſhed; and a trial has been made of a more rational and permanent appointment of Surgeons to take charge of the ſurgery wards. In theſe two years, according to Mr John Bell's doctrine, of the hoſpital-gangrene being frequent in exact proportion to the ſize of an hoſpital, and being produced by infections

fections from the medical wards, and raging in this Infirmary twice a-year like a plague, it ought to have raged in it four times: but in fact it has not *raged*, nor *ſpread*, even once; and very few inſtances of it, and theſe very ſlight, have appeared in the ſurgeons wards: ſo few, and ſo ſlight, that they were not regarded as a ſerious evil.

In proof and illuſtration of what I have ſtated about the principal and moſt frequent cauſe of that very bad condition of wounds and ulcers, which has been termed hoſpital-ſore or gangrene, particularly of this horrid diſeaſe *not* being produced *ſpecifically* by infections from the medical wards, or even *excluſively* by morbid, corrupted, and accumulated effluvia from human bodies, whether under the care of Phyſicians or Surgeons, I muſt mention what has been obſerved of the ſimilar pernicious effects of another kind of bad air, in producing ulceration of the ſame, or, if poſſible, of a worſe kind. I allude to what has been experienced at Batavia, the air of which is ſuppoſed to be the worſt in the world, in conſequence of its being loaded with noxious effluvia from the neighbouring marſhes, and from the ſtagnating canals and ditches of the city. I quote the words of Dr Lind ſenior, of Haſlar Hoſpital: " And it was particularly obſerved, that the ſickneſs " raged with the greateſt violence when the rains abated, and the " ſun had evaporated the water in the ditches, ſo that the mud " began to appear. The ſtench from the mud was then intole- " rable. Nor was the ſickneſs at that time confined to the ſhips: " the whole city afforded a ſcene of diſeaſe and death; ſtreets " crowded with funerals, bells tolling from morning to night, and " horſes jaded with dragging the dead in hearſes to their graves.

" At that time, a ſlight cut of the ſkin, the leaſt ſcratch of " a nail, or the moſt inconſiderable wound, turned quickly into " a putrid ſpreading ulcer, which in twenty-four hours conſumed " the fleſh even to the bone. This fact is ſo extraordinary, that " upon a ſingle teſtimony credit would hardly be given to it; yet

" on board the *Medway* and *Panther* they had the moſt fatal ex-
" perience of it, and ſuffered much from it." (Eſſay on Diſeaſes incident to Europeans in hot Climates, Ed. 1768, page 86, 7.).

Thoſe alone who have ſeen the ſtate of wounds and ulcers in the bad air of Batavia, as well as that which occurs in ill ventilated hoſpitals, and who have compared them in all their circumſtances, can judge whether they are juſt the ſame diſeaſe or not. Suppoſing them different, I ſhould think it very fooliſh to call the one of them the Java ſore or Batavia gangrene, as the other is called the hoſpital ſore or gangrene, for as much as it cannot be doubted, that, wherever the air is equally tainted with the ſame kind of effluvia, the ſame bad ſtate of wounds and ulcers will be produced. And it is at leaſt poſſible, and to me it ſeems probable, that the noxious effluvia from the canals of Batavia, and the foul air of an hoſpital loaded with effluvia from the human body, though differing in kind as well as degree of badneſs, and producing *ſpecifically* different diſeaſes of the febrile kind, may yet agree in producing nearly or exactly the ſame bad kind of ulceration, as they do in producing weakneſs, languor, and a pale ſallow complexion and ſqualid appearance of the whole body. The feeble languid conſtitutions, and bloodleſs faces, of the inhabitants of Batavia, ſo generally remarked by all who have ſeen them, ſeem to differ more in degree than in kind from the correſponding circumſtances in thoſe who have been long confined in ill ventilated jails or hoſpitals. But the fevers produced by the two kinds of bad air are radically different in their ſymptoms and method of cure, as well as in their cauſes. The jail or hoſpital fever, as it is called, is continued and contagious; the Batavian fever is remittent, or the worſt kind of intermittent, and no more contagious than a tertian ague is in this country; but withal ſo virulent, that, as Dr Lind tells us, " ſome were ſeized ſuddenly with a deliriym, and " died in the firſt fit; but none ſurvived the third."

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The difficulty to which I alluded in the paragraph quoted from my former Memorial, is that of prevailing on the ſervants of the Hoſpital, the nurſes, and even the patients themſelves, to do, or allow to be done, what is really neceſſary for their own ſafety and welfare. Not one of them can be perſuaded that ſuch ventilation and cleanlineſs as I allude to, is neceſſary, or good, or even ſafe for them; and if, by a kind of miracle, all the nurſes, and all the patients, were convinced of this, ſtill they would almoſt equally diſlike the irkſome and conſtant labour required to put it in practice. I am ſorry to ſay, that, to my certain knowledge, this kind of ignorance and obſtinacy is not confined to the nurſes and ſervants of the Hoſpital. I have met with it in ſome Students, who, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt admonitions and intreaties that I could employ, would perſiſt in expoſing themſelves, abſurdly and unneceſſarily, to the effluvia proceeding from the bodies of patients labouring under bad fevers, becauſe they would not believe that ſuch fevers were contagious. Two years are not yet elapſed, ſince a misfortune of this kind happened, in the clinical ward, under my own immediate care. Many of my pupils, as I afterwards learned, held very cheap all my good advice and admonitions: the conſequence was, that very ſoon *eight* of them caught the fever, *two* of whom died of it. Yet after all, ſome of them, I believe, are not yet cured of their favourite doctrine, that the ſaid fever was not contagious. This opinion is one of the moſt ſplendid examples of the ſpirit of medical warfare that has occurred for many years: it began in America, near ten years ago, on occaſion of the yellow fever which raged at Philadelphia in 1793. From America it ſpread to the Weſt Indies, from the Weſt Indies to England, from England to Egypt; and how far it will ſpread, and when it will ceaſe, I cannot even gueſs; probably not for many generations. The accumulated weight of the moſt complete evidence, reſulting from the accurate and concurrent obſervations

of many of the beſt Phyſicians that ever lived, from the days of Sir John Pringle and Dr Lind, who were obſerving and writing near ſixty years ago, down even to the preſent hour, appears to have been ſet aſide with as much eaſe, and as little ceremony, as the moſt viſionary hypotheſis that ever was advanced in Phyſic. I know too well the ſpirit of medical diſputants, to ſuppoſe it poſſible, that any obſervations or reaſonings of mine ſhould have the ſmalleſt weight in ſuch a controverſy: but I may reaſonably hope that the Managers of this Hoſpital, at leaſt, will pay much regard to the deciſive experience already obtained in it, of the uniform beneficial influence of the fever-wards; in which, by a regular ſyſtem of ventilation and cleanlineſs, the ſpreading of ſuch fevers among the other patients is prevented, and the danger of them ſo much leſſened, that of the patients ill of fevers received into thoſe wards, at leaſt fifteen out of ſixteen are ſoon reſtored in health and vigour to their families and their country. This fact I wiſh to be generally known, for the benefit of all concerned; and eſpecially in hopes that it may induce the poor when ſick of fevers, to go to the Hoſpital as early as poſſible; and alſo that it may induce the benevolent who are in more affluent circumſtances, to urge that ſalutary advice to them with all their influence: for in this way, and in no other that I am acquainted with, the ſpreading of the fever in their families, and among their neighbours, may be prevented, and their own chance of recovery may be brought *almoſt to certainty*. As this opinion, and even the peculiar expreſſion which I have employed to convey it, may be made matter of reprehenſion and reproach to me, it is neceſſary to explain fully, that I do not mean to ſay that every caſe, without exception, of continued fever received into the fever-wards of this or any other hoſpital, will neceſſarily or certainly be either ſpeedily cured, or at leaſt brought in no long time to a favourable termination. I am ſenſible that, in ſome caſes, from the peculiar virulence of the

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cauſe producing the fever; in others, from the peculiarly unfavourable ſtate of the patient's conſtitution before the invaſion of the fever; in others, from ſtrong concurrent cauſes, of a very unfavourable kind, applied along with the primary cauſe of the fever, the violence and danger of it, even from the firſt, may be incomparably greater than uſual; may be ſuch even as to baffle all the powers of medicine, or at leaſt all the ſkill and care of the beſt Phyſicians: juſt as happens in a few unfavourable inſtances of the ſmall pox; perhaps even in thoſe in whom it has been produced by inoculation. But I am well convinced, both from my own obſervation, and from the concurrent opinion and experience of other Phyſicians on the ſame ſubject, that ſuch caſes are very rare, and that by far the greater number of caſes of continued fever that prove fatal, do ſo in conſequence of neglect or miſmanagement after the diſeaſe has begun, and above all from the patient's not being allowed the benefit of pure cool air, and uniform cleanlineſs, in the courſe of the diſeaſe. Without meaning in the leaſt to call in queſtion the efficacy of various remedies which are properly and generally employed in the cure of continued fevers, ſometimes with complete and immediate ſucceſs, I declare with confidence, that I would much rather undertake the cure of any number of ſuch patients, with the help of cleanlineſs, pure cool air, and cold water, without any medicines, than with the help of all the medicines in the diſpenſatory, without the help of thoſe ſimple articles of regimen. Nor is my opinion in this reſpect ſingular: many other Phyſicians, who have had equal or better opportunities of obſervation in this and other hoſpitals, agree with me in thinking, that the regimen to which I allude is more than half the cure. Of this indeed we have often good proof and illuſtration, in the great and favourable change obſerved in ſuch patients, in a few hours after they are laid in the wards of this Hoſpital, and before they get any powerful medicines, or perhaps any

medicines

medicines at all. But to judge rightly of this point, it is neceſſary to attend to the contraſt between the ſpeedy relief, and in moſt caſes the perfect recovery of ſuch patients, and the aggravated ſtate of the diſeaſe, and all its horrid ſymptoms, in thoſe patients who remain in their own wretched, dirty, ill-aired habitations. To many of theſe patients it is fatal; in ſome inſtances whole families have been cut off by it; and in many caſes, though it has not been fatal to any individual of a family, it has brought miſery and ruin on them all, by its long continuance in the father or mother, on whoſe daily labour and conſtant care the family depended for its ſupport; and who, by ſuch a diſeaſe are often diſabled, for many weeks, ſometimes for months, from earning bread for themſelves and their children. Nor is this all; for almoſt certainly ſuch a fever will ſpread by contagion to ſeveral, very probably to all, the members of the family; and perhaps to other families in their neighbourhood, any individuals of which have intercourſe with the ſick perſons, in the foul tainted air of their common dwellings. Now, moſt or all of theſe evils may be almoſt certainly prevented, by ſending the patients attacked with fever to the Hoſpital as early as poſſible; and by promoting ventilation and cleanlineſs, to the utmoſt, in the habitations whence they were removed. I have already mentioned, that the proportion of thoſe who die, to thoſe who recover from ſuch fevers in the Hoſpital, is as one to fifteen. But of thoſe who die of ſuch fevers in the Hoſpital, a very large proportion indeed, to the beſt of my knowledge and belief, at leaſt nine out of ten, have been ill of the diſeaſe from five or ſix to ten or twelve days before they came into the Hoſpital; and during this time had been miſerably neglected or miſmanaged; and in conſequence of this were paſt all poſſibility of cure. Of this indeed ſome of them have afforded a ſad proof, by dying before they could be laid in their beds; and others of them, when firſt examined in the Hoſpital, were found to have already the worſt

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ſymptoms of the diſeaſe, ſuch as are known to be almoſt or certainly fatal. From theſe principles I do not heſitate to infer, that if patients in fevers were uniformly brought to the Hoſpital very ſoon after the invaſion of the diſeaſe, inſtead of one in fifteen, probably not one in a hundred of them would die of their diſeaſe; in other words, probably 990 out of 1000 ſuch patients would ſoon be reſtored to health and ſtrength: and what is of ſtill more conſequence, probably not the tenth or twentieth part of the number of ſuch fevers which at preſent occur among the lower orders, would then take place. It does not appear to me impoſſible almoſt to extirpate ſuch fevers among the lower orders of people; at leaſt to put an end to them, as either conſtantly prevalent, (endemic), or occaſionally ſpreading, (epidemic), diſeaſes: in plain Engliſh, I think they may be made as rare among the lower, as they have long been among the higher orders of people: and I doubt much whether an hoſpital, or any number of wards in it that may be required for this purpoſe, can in any other way be employed ſo much for the benefit of the public. Of 1000 patients received into an hoſpital on account of many other very common diſeaſes, conſumption, palſy, epilepſy, dropſy, and all the miſerable effects of dram-drinking, ſo ſmall a proportion can ever be reſtored to health and ſtrength, or made again uſeful to their families or the public, that I dare not venture to give it a name. After more than thirty years attentive medical obſervation of the ſituation of the lower orders in this city, I am fully convinced, that the common continued fever is the greateſt evil to which they are expoſed, except one: this one every perſon, who has attended to their ſituation, muſt know, is the uſe of diſtilled ſpirits; which is equally deſtructive to their induſtry, their morals, and their health; and certainly ruinous to them in mind, body, and eſtate.

The preceding obſervations with reſpect to fever-wards and fever-patients in an hoſpital, I have ſtated minutely and ſtrongly; becauſe

becauſe I am ſure, that what Mr John Bell has ſaid about the Surgeons patients being expoſed to infections from the medical wards, will be underſtood to relate particularly, if not excluſively, to the fever-wards: Perhaps this was intended by him; but whether it was or not, it will be ſuppoſed that it was. Thoſe are the medical wards, in which the ignorant ſuppoſe, and the malicious, including ſome very keen medical diſputants, pretend, that infections are the moſt abundant, moſt virulent, and moſt dangerous. Beſides, one of the fever-wards, the womens, is near to one of the Surgeons wards, being on the ſame ſtory, and ſeparated only by the ſtaircaſe: and formerly, for many years, the caſe was the ſame with the mens fever-ward. Moreover, for ſome years paſt, fever-wards, fever-hoſpitals, and houſes of recovery, (as they are called), have been *teterrima belli cauſa* among our moſt noble faculty: for while ſome of our moſt ſpirited diſputants here have maintained that fevers were not contagious, and have nobly died martyrs to this *anti-contagioniſt* faith, others, as became them, have gone completely to the oppoſite extreme, and have maintained, that fevers were ſo dreadfully contagious, that the effluvia from patients ill of them might produce the diſeaſe in others at the diſtance even of many miles, and probably would do ſo very generally at the diſtance of ſome hundreds of yards. Theſe keen *contagioniſts*, according to the laudable cuſtom of medical diſputants, choſe to overlook completely the plaineſt neceſſary conſequences of their own doctrine; eſpecially the obvious conſideration, that if ſuch were the caſe, no human power could prevent the fever from ſpreading through every town, and almoſt through every country, in which even a ſingle inſtance of it occurred. But they did not fail to perceive, that ſuch being the inveterate and far-ſpreading nature of febrile contagion, a fever-ward in an hoſpital, or a fever-hoſpital or houſe of recovery in a town, muſt be a perpetual ſource of diſeaſe and death to all the other

other patients in ſuch an hoſpital, and all the inhabitants of ſuch a town. For certain purpoſes, which I can only gueſs at, and therefore ſhall not preſume to mention, thoſe horrible apprehenſions were proclaimed with ſuch ardent zeal and unceaſing clamour, that the peaceable well-meaning inhabitants of ſome towns, who had no notion of the ſpirit of medical warfare, were frightened almoſt or altogether out of their wits. To this hour, many of them firmly believe that a fever-ward, or a fever-hoſpital, is neceſſarily a great reſervoir or magazine of the moſt virulent contagion; the effluvia from which may be noxious at leaſt, if not fatal at a great diſtance. But the very reverſe of this is the truth: Such a ward or hoſpital is juſt a contrivance, and the beſt or only one hitherto known, for preventing the accumulation and virulence of ſuch effluvia, which is nearly equivalent to preventing the production of them. It is abundantly aſcertained, that thoſe effluvia are dangerous, as proceeding directly from the bodies of patients ill of ſuch fevers; ſtill worſe when they are accumulated in their chambers for want of proper ventilation; worſt of all when retained and concentrated in their clothes, or in any kind of ſoft furniture, ſometimes even as adhering to hard furniture, or to the walls, the floor, or the ceiling of a room. But it is equally well aſcertained, that where there is even moderate ventilation, the ſame effluvia, as coming directly from the body of the patient, are not noxious even at the diſtance of a few feet; and that, by thorough ventilation, and great cleanlineſs, and care in changing frequently the clothes of a patient's perſon or bed, in waſhing them with due precautions, in waſhing even the patient's own body, in waſhing or white-waſhing the walls, the roof, and the floor of the chamber in which ſuch a patient has lain, all danger of infection is effectually prevented. It is even a rare occurrence in this city, for ſuch a fever to ſpread in any family of the higher orders, with that degree of ventilation and cleanlineſs which is generally preſerved in their

houſes: indeed it is ſo rare an occurrence, that, were it not for the ſad examples often ſeen in the houſes of the lower orders, many people would not believe that the common fever is at all contagious. In fever-wards, all thoſe circumſtances of ventilation and cleanlineſs, equally beneficial to the patients and thoſe who have the care of them, are conſtantly and ſtrictly attended to. I believe they would be found almoſt univerſally ſufficient: but, in caſe of need, additional means of ſafety are employed; ſuch as fumigations of different kinds, ſeveral of which are conſidered by thoſe who have tried them moſt as highly efficacious: but, as always happens in phyſic, they have become ſubjects of keen, and probably of endleſs diſputes. Whatever may become of theſe diſputes, and of the chemical queſtions concerning the nature of the contagious effluvia, and the mode of operation of the different fumes employed to correct them, on the principle either of compoſition or decompoſition, one great point at leaſt muſt remain certain, and plain and intelligible to every capacity, I mean the neceſſary effect of ventilation. This is juſt the diffuſion of the noxious effluvia in a great quantity of pure air; and is perfectly analogous to the diffuſion of many other ſubſtances in pure water. In numberleſs caſes the effect of ſuch diffuſion is obvious to our ſenſes: thus one pint of ink diffuſed in a gallon of water, will impart to it a very conſiderable tinge of black; but if the ſame quantity of ink were diffuſed in ſeveral tons of water, ſtill better if diffuſed in a ſmall rivulet, the black tinge would no longer be perceptible to the quickeſt ſight. One pint of the ſtrong vitriolic acid diffuſed in many gallons of water, will make the whole of it very ſour: but if it were diluted with many tons of water, or thrown into a ſtream of running water, its ſourneſs could no longer be perceived. All the ſmoke of London, and all the fragrance of Edinburgh, become imperceptible to our ſenſes at the diſtance of only a few miles from thoſe immenſe maſſes of noxious effluvia. The caſe is the ſame

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with thoſe ſubſtances, which in their concentrated ſtate produce the moſt violent effects, perhaps even mortal diſeaſes, in the human body; and yet when diluted may be employed with ſafety; may even have pleaſant or ſalutary effects; or, if very much diluted, may have no perceptible effects. A large draught of pure ſtrong brandy may kill a man in a moment: a few ſmall draughts of ſuch brandy will ſoon make a man dead drunk; and any man may ſoon get drunk by drinking brandy diluted with five or even ten times its quantity of water. But I conceive it will require ſome genius to get drunk with brandy diluted with forty times its quantity of water: and if it were diluted with a thouſand or ten thouſand times its quantity of water, a man might drink of it till he burſt, without making the ſmalleſt progreſs towards getting drunk. A few grains of arſenic diſſolved in a quart of water, will form a beverage, one draught of which will prove certainly fatal; but if the ſame quantity of arſenic is diſſolved in twenty or thirty quarts of water, a man may take two or three draughts of ſuch a liquor daily, for a week, without any danger or inconvenience; and if he had an intermittent fever before he began to it, he would be cured of that diſeaſe in a few days. The ſame quantity of arſenic diſſolved in many tons of water, would produce no effect whatever on the human body, in any quantity in which a perſon could drink it. The caſe I believe is preciſely the ſame with thoſe vapours, effluvia, or volatile matters, which being diffuſible in the air, may in it be diluted to any degree, and when much diluted become perfectly innocent, although when concentrated and ſtrong they would have been abſolutely poiſonous, and even ſuddenly fatal. A conſiderable quantity of carbonic gas, commonly called fixed air, or of hydrogene gas, commonly called inflammable air, may be mixed with the common air that we breathe without the ſmalleſt danger to life, or any injury even to health. Nearly three-fourths of common atmoſpheric air conſiſts of a matter, (azote), which, if breathed

pure, would be certainly and almoſt inſtantly fatal; yet when diluted with little more than a third part of its own quantity of a different kind of gas or air, (oxygen), it forms the moſt wholeſome air for breathing. It has even been thought by ſome phyſicians, that a conſiderable quantity of thoſe poiſonous airs or vapours, moderately diluted with common air, may be very ſalutary in ſeveral diſeaſes; eſpecially in the moſt common and fatal of all diſeaſes in this country, conſumption. I preſume any ordinary perſon, however little ſkilled in chemiſtry, will underſtand, that if any ward of this Hoſpital were made cloſe, and a very few ounces of ſulphur were burned in it, every breathing animal in that ward would ſoon be killed by the poiſonous ſuffocating vapour of that mineral; but ſurely no perſon of common ſenſe can believe, that if the doors and windows of ſuch a ward were thrown open before ſuch fumigation were begun, or during the performing of it, the vapours of the ſulphur could reach any of the other wards, in ſuch concentration and force, as to produce any diſeaſes in the patients in theſe wards. As little can I believe, that the effluvia from patients in the fever-wards, prevented as they are from being accumulated by conſtant attention to cleanlineſs, and diluted and diffuſed in much air by conſtant ventilation, can ever be hurtful to the patients in the ſurgeons wards: and I know in fact, that there has never been the ſmalleſt proof or ſuſpicion of their being hurtful to the patients in the phyſicians wards, who are at leaſt as much expoſed to them, as thoſe under the care of the Surgeons. I heartily wiſh I could be as well aſſured, that equal ſecurity could be given by any other means to the other patients in the Hoſpital, when perſons ill of ſuch fevers are laid in the common wards, or to the other inhabitants of ſuch houſes as are generally occupied by the lower orders of people, when even one of the family is attacked by that diſeaſe. That ſuch ſecurity, even in thoſe circumſtances, may be attained by very ſtrict attention to ventilation and cleanlineſs,

lineſs, I am well convinced; for by theſe means I have generally ſucceeded, both in private houſes, and in the clinical wards of this Hoſpital. I can well believe that others have been more uniformly ſucceſsful in that reſpect than I have been; but I think it right to acknowledge, that, after all the care I could take to prevent the ſpreading of the contagion, I have ſeveral times been diſappointed. The reſult of my own experience is, that all the ventilation and cleanlineſs, not that *can*, but that generally *will* be employed in the common wards of an hoſpital, does not give that complete ſecurity to the other patients, which may be certainly attained by laying thoſe ill of fevers in ſeparate wards; and that the chance of preventing the contagion from ſpreading from one perſon ill of the fever to others of the ſame family, among the lower orders of people, is ſtill more precarious. I ſhould think it right, that, by a ſtanding order of the Managers, ſuch patients ſhould not be admitted into the common wards of this Infirmary; nay, that any patient in theſe wards attacked with ſuch a fever after his admiſſion, as muſt often happen in conſequence of his having been previouſly expoſed to the cauſes of the fever, ſhould be removed from the common ward, into the one allotted for fever patients, or at leaſt into ſome of the private rooms connected with the different wards, ſo as to cut off all communication between him and the other patients. With reſpect to the ſick poor in their own dwellings, it is in vain to propoſe regulations which cannot be enforced; but they may at leaſt be encouraged and inſtructed to do what is right; nor ſhould I think it a very difficult matter to make them underſtand, that inſtead of going into a great reſervoir of infections, when they are admitted into the fever-wards of the Hoſpital, they are in fact going out of ſuch a reſervoir, which they had produced, and were producing, in their own houſes: and, with reſpect to the public at large, I ſhould think it might be ſtill more eaſy to eſtabliſh the important doctrine, that,

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if ſuch fevers are contagious, which I firmly believe, then, on the plan propoſed, there very ſoon would not be left the hundredth part of the magazines of that contagion which there have long been ſcattered all over this city. Before I quit the ſubject of that theory of the origin of the hoſpital-gangrene, which Mr John Bell and his clients have ſo ſtrongly aſſerted and ſanctioned, I think it right to ſtate the very preciſe and accurate obſervations of two different authors with reſpect to it. The firſt of theſe is Dr John Rollo, ſurgeon-general to the Royal Artillery, who, in a treatiſe, entitled, " A ſhort account of a morbid poiſon acting on ſores, " and of the method of deſtroying it," deſcribes minutely the ſtate of a ſore, firſt, when acted upon by eryſipelas; ſecondly, that of a ſore ſuppoſed to be peculiar to hoſpitals, or what is called the hoſpital ſore or gangrene; thirdly, that of a ſore when acted upon by what he ſuppoſed to be a new ſpecies of morbid poiſon. Whatever may be thought of the accuracy of his obſervations, or the juſtneſs of his reaſonings on theſe points, it ſeems at leaſt abundantly plain, that thoſe ſeveral bad conditions of ſores which he deſcribes were not produced by infections from the medical wards of this or any other hoſpital: for they occurred in the Brigade of Royal Horſe-Artillery ſoon after its formation: when " many " accidents occurred, eſpecially in kicks on the legs of the men by " the horſes feet; and being generally on the ſhin, very unpleaſant " ſores were produced." So frequent were theſe accidents, that at one time they had ſeldom leſs than forty caſes of ſores in the hoſpital.

The ſecond of thoſe authors, whoſe obſervations on this ſubject I beg leave to quote, is one whoſe authority I am ſure Mr John Bell will not diſpute; namely, the ſaid Mr John Bell himſelf: who in his ſplendid work, entitled, " The Principles of Surgery," publiſhed here a few months after his Anſwer to me, and the greater part of which muſt have been written, and probably printed, before

fore his Anſwer to me was written or thought of, has favoured the world with what may reaſonably be ſuppoſed his real opinion of the nature and cauſe of the hoſpital-ſore: at leaſt he has given us many obſervations with reſpect to it, a minute deſcription of its appearance and progreſs, and even an excellent coloured print, repreſenting, far better than any words can do, the horror of the diſeaſe, and the deplorable ſituation of thoſe whom it attacks. His obſervations ſeem to have been made chiefly on the men who had been wounded in the memorable engagement between the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, under the Admirals Duncan and De Winter, on the 11th of October 1797. The ſcene of his obſervations ſeems to have been the hoſpital at Yarmouth. He tells us expreſsly, that "there is no hoſpital, however ſmall, airy, or well regulated, where "this epidemic ulcer is not to be found at times; and then no ope-"ration dare be performed! every cure ſtands ſtill! every wound "becomes a ſore, and every ſore is apt to run into gangrene:" then follows a noble philippic on its prevalence in the Hotel Dieu at Paris. (page 108). As to the cauſes of ſuch a ſore, he mentions, that a patient "had been often drunk, was frequently "revelling all night in the ſtreets, and when day-light approach-"ed, he ſcrambled over the hoſpital-wall, or through the ditch "full of mud. Frequent debauches, and the cold of winter, ex-"poſed him to the infection of the houſe; he was weakened, fell "ſick, the hoſpital-ſore ſpread over his thigh to a moſt dreadful "degree, but wine and opiates, and careful living, brought him "right again." (page 111).

Then, after deſcribing at great length the appearance and progreſs of the diſeaſe, and reaſoning with much ſubtilty about the nature of it, he tells us, "theſe are the conſequences, not of that infection "only which we call the hoſpital-gangrene, but of every debilita-"ting cauſe. Drunkenneſs and debauchery, ſtomach-complaints, "vomiting, diarrhœa, low ſpirits, the return of an old intermit-

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" tent fever, the infection of dyſentery, any debilitating cauſe, " will produce a change in the appearance of a wound. But this " infection of the hoſpital is the moſt irreſiſtible of all." Further, he tells us, " Thus we ſee this diſeaſe confined within the " walls of an hoſpital, nor does it always extend farther than a " ſingle ward. In Yarmouth, the Engliſh ſeamen who were " wounded on the 11th of October, were divided from three hun- " dred wounded men of the Dutch, by a wall only; the great " wards were on the oppoſite ſides of the partition under one roof; " on the one ſide of that, partition we operated on men and boys, " opened ſinuſes, or ſearched for balls or pieces of ſhot, as freely as " in the moſt healthy hoſpital, or in ſick-quarters; not a ſore was to " be ſeen there, except ſuch as were the inevitable conſequence of " gun-ſhot wounds, with carious bones. But on the other ſide of " the partition wall, were ſuch ſores as are ſeldom to be ſeen, pro- " hibiting all operations, even the moſt trivial." (page 115. and 116).

If I had been left at liberty to contrive an account of the hoſpital-gangrene, with a view to ſhow that it was not produced in the ſurgeons patients in this Infirmary by infections from the medical wards, I could have contrived nothing ſtronger for that purpoſe than what Mr John Bell himſelf has given us, in that great work from which the preceding paſſages are ſelected. In his whole diſquiſition on the ſubject, extending to twelve ſwinging quarto pages, no ſuch opinion is aſſerted, or even inſinuated; and the whole tenor of his obſervations irreſiſtibly implies, that the diſeaſe in queſtion might be produced, and was produced, in ſurgeons patients not expoſed to any infections from medical wards; nay, even that it might occur, and at that time actually did occur, in ſome of the wards, but not in all of them, that were filled with ſurgery-patients, and under the peculiar or ſole management of ſurgeons. It does not even appear that there were

were at that time in the naval hoſpital at Yarmouth any medical wards, whence infections could be derived; but if there had been ſuch wards in that town, and in that hoſpital, this would not account for the dreadful diſeaſe in queſtion prevailing in one ward, and not in another, both of them filled with wounded men, both of them under the ſame roof, and ſeparated only by a partition-wall. It will be admitted by every perſon who knows what phyſical reaſoning is, that the hoſpital-ſore prevailing at that time in ſome and not others of the wards of the Yarmouth hoſpital, occurring ſometimes, but not always, in the artillery-hoſpital at Woolwich, occurring and ſpreading ſometimes, but not always, in the ſurgeons wards of the Hoſpital at Edinburgh, muſt proceed from ſome cauſe common to all thoſe hoſpitals, or wards of hoſpitals, at thoſe times, and not from any thing peculiar to this Hoſpital, at all times, or at any time, ſuch as the vicinity of the medical to the ſurgical wards, or the peculiar condition of the former.

But great and ſtupendous as is their proficiency in logical and phyſical ſcience, the attainments of Mr John Bell and his clients in practical morality are ſtill more aſtoniſhing, and more edifying. To judge rightly of their ſingular merit in this reſpect, candour requires that, in the firſt place, we ſhould ſuppoſe that they *bona fide* believed what they had aſſerted and ſanctioned: for the ſuppoſition, that they had aſſerted or ſanctioned what they knew to be falſe, is ſo unfavourable to them, that it ought not to be admitted, or even thought of, without abſolute neceſſity. Admitting then, for the ſake of argument, that every thing which, in his Anſwer to me, Mr John Bell has ſaid of the hoſpital-gangrene, is literally true, and by him, and all his clients, and all his profeſſional brethren, believed or known to be ſo, let *us* conſider, or rather let *them* conſider, what their own conduct has been. From year to year, from generation to generation, they have *connived* at that horrible abomination; they have allowed it to continue,

without even attempting to get it corrected, which it was their duty to have done as ſoon as they diſcovered the nature and ſource of it. The means of making this attempt were completely in their power: every Surgeon who attended in the Hoſpital, indeed every Surgeon in Edinburgh, had eaſy acceſs to the Managers: by the charter of the Infirmary, at leaſt *two* members of the College of Surgeons, but, if there be no Profeſſor of Anatomy, then three of them, muſt always be Managers of this Hoſpital. If there had been any occaſion for it, a unanimous reſolution, and moſt urgent application, of the whole Royal College of Surgeons on that intereſting ſubject, might have been preſented to the Managers; but theſe could not, and durſt not have diſregarded any information or requeſt on ſuch a ſubject, to which every conſideration of honour, of duty, of humanity, required that they ſhould pay the moſt prompt attention. When at laſt, after ſilently ſubmitting to that grievance for more than half a century, and quietly permitting and conniving at the moſt cruel ſufferings of many of their own patients, and the miſerable death of ſeveral of them, they declare how cruelly their patients have been treated in this Infirmary, their complaint of theſe evils is not addreſſed privately to the Managers, in order to get them rectified without delay; it is proclaimed to the public in a manner the beſt ſuited to excite general indignation and horror at the management of this Hoſpital, and, by neceſſary conſequence, at the Phyſicians and the Managers of it. It cannot even be pretended that it was from any ſtrong ſenſe of the greatneſs of the evil, and the neceſſity and *difficulty* of getting it ſpeedily reformed, that they took this violent and unneceſſary meaſure: for they did it not *ex mero motu*, but on occaſion of their being irritated by my former Memorial, and by my making generally known ſome circumſtances of the conduct of their department in this Hoſpital, which I regarded as great and notorious evils, and wiſhed to reform, and which they profeſs to think no evils at all, and wiſh to continue. They cannot pretend that

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the object of the Anſwer to my former Memorial was to get a *ſpeedy reform* of that evil which they proclaimed ſo loudly; for their object avowedly was to get the former ſyſtem continued. They cannot even pretend that they did not ſee the practical inference neceſſarily reſulting from their own ſtate of the caſe; for they mention it intelligibly enough, but ſlightly, rather ſlurring it over than urging it, and at leaſt putting it off *ſine die*. " No, Gentlemen," (ſays the eloquent Mr John Bell), " we will repreſent, truly and " impartially, the humane and very happy conſequences reſulting, " not from an oppoſite but a ſeparate hoſpital! which, were your " funds equal to the undertaking, we ſhould think it our duty this " day to adviſe." Then follows the pathetic enumeration of all the evils to which they, or rather their patients, are expoſed, by the very eſtabliſhment of this Hoſpital, and by their predeceſſors, in the time of Deacon Kennedy & Co. uniting their ſeparate Surgeons Hoſpital with the Royal Infirmary.

" There are innumerable diſtreſſes reſulting from the preſent " combination of the medical and ſurgical inſtitutes, and one eſpe- " cially which can never be done away. Our ſurgical hoſpital is " in the higheſt, and not the moſt lofty, nor pleaſant apartments " of the Hoſpital. Every man whoſe limbs are fractured and la- " cerated muſt be carried up many flights of ſtairs: our operations " are performed where patients, expecting the time of their own " operations, are ſtupified with the cries of thoſe who are ſuffer- " ing operations. Our ſurgical wards, ſometimes neglected by " ſtudents, are often crowded with the idle and curious, with " thoſe who are indifferent to ſurgery; and they flow in upon us, " chiefly when the caſes are intereſting, and patients ill able to " bear the din, not of the regular ſtudents of ſurgery, but of a " whole univerſity of ſtudents. Surgery is not regarded as a par- " ticular ſtudy, but a piece of idle curioſity, and ſtudents come " to ſee, rather than to be informed: The ſtudies of ſurgery and

" medicine are not duly divided." Then he proceeds to tell us, that " worſe than all, their patients are expoſed to infections " from the medical wards, and eſpecially to a diſeaſe, the hoſ- " pital-ſore," &c. as already quoted, (page 324.). It is plain, from the whole tenor of his diſcourſe in this moſt intereſting paſſage, that he thinks the Surgeons entitled to claim great merit with the Managers and the public for their long forbearance, in allowing their patients to be expoſed for more than half a century to all theſe numerous, horrid, and complicated evils, without any attempt on the part of the Surgeons to remonſtrate with the Managers on the ſubject, or by any means whatever to get them corrected. They plainly are not things indifferent to the Managers, to the public, or to any perſon who has the underſtanding and the feelings of a man: they are ſurely not ſtated with a view to make himſelf, and his brethren, and his predeceſſors for ſixty years, odious and infamous in the eſtimation of the public; nor can it even be believed that he and his clients, whoſe vote of thanks related *expreſsly*, and moſt particularly, to that part of his pamphlet, were ſenſible that ſuch infallibly muſt be the effect of their own aſſertions if any credit was given to them. Their great or only anxiety, for more than ſixty years, has been to eſtabliſh and to preſerve all thoſe horrid abuſes, by his own account ſo deſtructive to the patients; but at the ſame time to ſecure permiſſion to every Member of their College to have his own equal ſhare of that dreadful practice, which it was originally maintained they all required at firſt to make them expert operators, but which, according to their own account, could not have been for the good of the patients, and muſt have been fatal to many of them, by reaſon of the very unfavourable circumſtances in which they were placed, and the poiſonous infections to which they were expoſed.

But, as if he had been reſolved to leave nothing doubtful on ſo intereſting a point, Mr John Bell takes care, in the two following paragraphs,

paragraphs, to ſtate, by way of contraſt to the evils which the Surgeons and their patients have ſuffered in the Infirmary, many of the great advantages which they, and their patients, and the public at large, would have enjoyed, if the Surgeons Hoſpital had never been united with the Royal Infirmary.

" Had the Surgeons completed their plan of a diſtinct inſtitu-
" tion, we ſhould have ſeen a far different order of things: the
" building of a ſmall hoſpital would have been eaſily accom-
" pliſhed, and for ſo limited an inſtitution its reſources would
" have been great: the wards large and well aired; the patients
" comparatively few; their diet nouriſhing and generous; the
" houſe healthy, and free from infectious diſeaſe. This hoſpital,
" being the theatre of all the great operations in the city, would
" have been reputed a ſurgical ſchool inferior to none: The Sur-
" geons, ſenſible of the number of pupils gathering round them,
" would have begun to inſtruct them in the operations of ſurgery,
" and in thoſe parts of anatomy which relate to operations: and
" not in ſurgery and anatomy only, but in the diſeaſes which
" require operations, and in the infections, gangrenes, and fevers,
" which thoſe who have ſuffered operations are expoſed to.

" Thus Surgery would have been diſtinguiſhed from Medicine,
" and the Students would have felt the equal importance of
" both. Students, whatever their future deſtination, would have
" ſpent at leaſt one year in this important ſtudy: many who
" now leave the Univerſity quite ignorant of this profeſſion,
" would, by ſeeing the ſplendid ſtate of the Surgical Hoſpital, be
" induced to attend its operations and its teachers. Such a ſchool
" being attached to the Royal College of Surgeons, the profeſſion
" itſelf would have aſſumed a more important aſpect! Surgical
" operations and practice would have been improved! the mem-
" bers of this College would have applied with particular ardour
" both to their own profeſſion and to general ſcience. We think

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" we may, with all poſſible modeſty, put theſe down as the im-
" portant conſequences of ſuch an inſtitution; and have little rea-
" ſon to doubt, that the Surgeons would have become enthuſiaſts
" in their profeſſion; and ſurely they would have been faithful
" guardians of their own Hoſpital."

Such being the ineſtimable advantages which the Surgeons and their patients have loſt, and ſuch the dreadful evils which their patients have incurred, by their connection with this Hoſpital; what words can do juſtice to the unrelenting cruelty and atrocity of thoſe, who ſo eagerly ſought to eſtabliſh that connection, who have ſo long connived at all its fatal conſequences, and who ſtill wiſh it to continue in all its horrors? Let it be remembered that we are here conſidering the ſuppoſition, that Mr John Bell and his clients really believed what he has aſſerted, and they have ſanctioned. If ſo, their conduct is too plain a commentary on that memorable reſolution of their College already quoted, page 142. of this Memorial. They muſt indeed be *Shylocks*, or worſe than *Shylocks*: for the cruelty of *Shylock* was directed againſt one man only, and one who had offended and inſulted him; but theirs muſt have brought miſery and death on many hundreds who had never injured or offended them; who, in the hour of affliction and bittereſt anguiſh, had been intruſted to their charitable care, and for whom they pretended, and ſtill pretend, the greateſt benevolence, exalted and refined by a ſacred regard to religion.

That I may do no injuſtice to them by theſe remarks, or appear to ſuppreſs any thing that may tend to leſſen the indignation and horror which ſuch conduct as theirs cannot fail to inſpire, I muſt quote another paragraph, which, in Mr John Bell's pamphlet, immediately follows the one laſt quoted from it. His words are theſe: " But this object is loſt, and we will not tor-
" ture you with expreſſions of regret. Yet, ſhould Providence
" ſo order it, that this country, increaſing in population, riches,
" and

" and all good and charitable diſpoſitions, ſhould require a more " extenſive charity, we beſeech you, when that period arrives, as " moſt likely it will arrive, to revolve theſe conſiderations in your " mind." This ſentence, like another already quoted, page 363. line 10. of this Memorial, ſhows plainly that they ſaw what ought inſtantly to have been the direct *practical inference* from their own aſſertions; but yet, for reaſons which they beſt can explain, that practical inference is put off to a diſtant and indefinite period.

Let us then conſider, ſtill on the ſuppoſition that they believed or knew that all their aſſertions were true, what the *immediate* and *very frequent* conſequences muſt be of the continuance of that ſyſtem, which they acknowledge to be bad, but do not propoſe to remove, for many years at leaſt, perhaps for ſome generations.

As the hoſpital-gangrene, in conſequence of infections from the medical wards, rages like a plague among the Surgeons patients twice a-year; and as during the time that it rages, which cannot be leſs than two or three weeks, and may be two or three months, each return, no operations can be ſafely performed, becauſe it ſeizes *all* thoſe who have even the *ſmalleſt inciſions* practiſed upon them; as it infects all the ulcers, and changes the ſlighteſt ſores into gangrenes; the fate of every patient admitted into the ſurgeons wards at thoſe times, muſt indeed be deplorable. He has ſcarce a chance for recovery; and the greateſt probability of ſoon meeting a painful and lingering death. His ſituation muſt be greatly worſe than that of a ſheep going to the ſlaughter; which is the expreſſion that Mr John Bell, in treating of this ſubject in his Principles of Surgery, (page 211, 212.), has with great delicacy and judgment employed. The condition of the patient when firſt brought into the Hoſpital may be ſuch as to require the immediate performing of a capital operation, to give him his only chance

chance for his life. In ſuch caſes as fractured ſkull, ſtrangulated rupture, mortified limb, or even a bad compound fracture or ſevere gun-ſhot wound, the ſeveral operations required cannot be poſtponed, *even for a day*, without almoſt certain death to the patients. Suppoſing them all to have been judiciouſly directed, and ſkilfully performed, ſo that the patients, bating the danger of hoſpital-gangrene, would have had a good chance for recovery, this chance muſt be loſt in the certainty of the hoſpital-gangrene ſeizing them in a week, perhaps in leſs, with the greateſt probability of its being fatal in leſs than a fortnight. The caſe muſt be nearly the ſame with the more numerous claſs of patients admitted into thoſe wards on account of ſlight wounds and ulcers. Theſe muſt ſoon be affected with the hoſpital-gangrene, which muſt ſpread, and very often prove fatal. But dying would be the leaſt of the evils that ſuch patients would meet with; to them death would be a relief from the moſt cruel ſufferings. The hoſpital-gangrene is attended with excruciating burning pain; ſuch pain, that it has been a *relief* to ſome patients to have the whole ſurface of the ſore thoroughly ſeared with a red-hot iron. This was ſometimes practiſed with ſucceſs in the hoſpital at Lyons. In the progreſs of the diſeaſe, not only the ſkin is waſted, or rots away, to a vaſt extent, in a few days; but even the ſeveral portions of fleſh (muſcles) rot and ſeparate from one another, and at laſt drop off; ſo that in many caſes the bones of a limb have been left quite bare before the patient died. But in truth no words can convey an adequate notion of this dreadful diſeaſe: therefore, to ſupply that defect, and alſo to preclude any ſuſpicion of my having exaggerated the evil, I beg leave to refer the curious or diſtruſtful reader to the ample deſcription given of the hoſpital-gangrene, in the Principles of Surgery, by Mr John Bell himſelf, (page 108. to 119.), where he will find not only a very full general deſcription of the diſeaſe, but ſeveral particular caſes of it minutely deſcribed

ſcribed, and beſt of all, a coloured print, a portrait of the diſeaſe, and of a wretched creature dying of it; one *Joiner*, a boy belonging to the *Triumph*, and wounded on the memorable 11th of October 1797, and in his laſt ſad ſcene exhibiting ſome of the pride, pomp, and circumſtance of glorious war. It is plain from that print, that Mr John Bell underſtood and felt perfectly the force of Horace's maxim,

Segnius irritant animos demiſſa per aures,
Quam quæ ſunt oculis ſubjecta fidelibus.

This maxim, and his print, on the preſent occaſion, ſerve my purpoſe as well as his. Let no perſons of weak nerves, nor any lady with child, look at that print: but let thoſe who have no ſuch reaſons to fear its ſtrong effect look ſteadily on it, and know, that if what Mr John Bell has ſo confidently aſſerted, and his clients have ſo ſtrongly and openly ſanctioned, be true, ſuch is *one* of the evils which their predeceſſors brought on thoſe patients for whom they profeſſed ſuch pious and tender care; which every Surgeon, from Deacon Kennedy and his friends to Mr John Bell and his friends or clients, who in the courſe of ſixty years has attended and operated in this Hoſpital, has quietly connived at; and which theſe gentlemen moſt piouſly and humanely propoſe to allow to continue, till " Providence ſhall ſo order it, that this country, " increaſing in population, riches, and all good and charitable diſ- " poſitions, ſhall require a more extenſive charity."—Or do they wiſh it to be conſidered as one of thoſe little inconveniences to which they alluded in that eloquent and pathetic ſentence, wherein they tell us, that " even humanity herſelf muſt diſpenſe with ſome " of thoſe comforts which ſhe would wiſh to heap upon the un- " fortunate objects of her care?" If ſo, then *Timeo Danaos et dona*

 ferentes,

ferentes, in whatever language it may be expreſſed, muſt ever be the heartfelt ſentiment of all thoſe truly unfortunate objects.

I formerly hinted (page 102.) my ſuſpicion, that the Spirit of Deacon Kennedy ſtill reſted on ſome of his ſucceſſors; having deſcended to them along with his cloak. The cloak is eaſily known; notwithſtanding the profuſion of lace and embroidery with which Mr John Bell has adorned it, and the large border of zeal for ſcience with which he has tried to eke it out. Every body muſt recogniſe it at once as the good old thread-bare covering, which has been ſlave to thouſands, and has covered, and will cover men of every ſhape and every ſize; all but the cloven foot, which never can be long concealed, and from which a ſhrewd gueſs may be made of the nature and intents of that Spirit; be they wicked or charitable; bring it airs from Heaven, or blaſts from Hell. We are all, I I preſume, pretty well accuſtomed to get a glimpſe of the ſaid cloven foot, on certain occaſions; and generally expect to ſee it peeping out under the hem of that cloak which Mr John Bell wears with ſuch becoming grace; but probably, till his pamphlet appeared, none of us ever had the cloven foot ſo boldly daſhed in our faces, or ever had ſo complete a view of it in its full ſize and proportion. *Ex pede Herculem* and *Ex ungue leonem*, are well-known and juſt maxims. From ſo goodly a cloven foot what vaſt ideas muſt we have of the perſon to whom it belongs? if indeed it belong to him, and not he to it. But I doubt much whether he be not rather a part of the cloven foot, than the cloven foot a part of him: for if it were taken away, it is difficult to conceive what, or how much, or whether any thing of Mr John Bell would remain. But this curious problem in Demonology will perhaps be ſolved by an attentive conſideration of the next and only other article of his pamphlet on which I intend to offer any remarks.

In

In the mean time I muſt point out, that all theſe very unfavourable inferences with reſpect to him and his clients are juſt, and neceſſarily true, only on the ſuppoſition, that they had all *believed* what he aſſerted, and they ſanctioned, with reſpect to the origin of the hoſpital-gangrene, and the prevalence of it in the ſurgeons wards of this hoſpital. But it is conceiveable that neither he nor they believed what he aſſerted and they ſanctioned: and they are unqueſtionably entitled, in ſtrict and candid reaſoning, to take their choice of either ſide of the dilemma, which they have ſo logically and judiciouſly contrived for themſelves. But one or other of the ſuppoſitions they *muſt* take: there *can be no third* ſuppoſition with reſpect to their conduct. It is impoſſible to get out of ſuch a dilemma: which briefly ſtands thus.

Either they believed, or they did not believe, what he aſſerted and they ſanctioned. If they did not believe it, they muſt all be infamous for deliberately and ſeriouſly aſſerting a malevolent falſehood. If they did believe it, they muſt be ſtill more infamous, and moreover ought all to be hanged, for knowingly and deliberately allowing ſo many of their patients, year after year, to die a lingering and painful death, by breathing air which they knew to be poiſonous. Their guilt, and the atrocity of their conduct, would be juſt the ſame as if they had knowingly allowed an equal number of their patients to die by eating poiſoned bread, or drinking poiſoned water. There are no laws to puniſh a crime which no lawgiver could foreſee, or think poſſible: therefore they will eſcape hanging: but they cannot eſcape curſes both loud and deep, if they perſiſt in that aſſertion, which neceſſarily implies ſuch unrelenting and atrocious cruelty in their own paſt and preſent conduct.

I come now to the laſt, but not the leaſt important article, of Mr John Bell's Anſwer to my Memorial, on which I think it neceſſary to make any remarks: I mean the wonderful and very eloquent account, that he has been pleaſed to give, of the Clinical Lectures, and of the atrocious wanton cruelty with which they are conducted. This part of his pamphlet is by far the moſt ſplendid ſample of his genius that I have ever ſeen; and much more than enough to make his name immortal, if he had never written another page. It is of ſuch conſequence in diſcuſſing this point, to preclude even the poſſibility of any ſuſpicion that I miſrepreſent or ſuppreſs any part of his diſcourſe, that, tedious as it may appear to ſome perſons, I muſt tranſcribe full ſix pages of his pamphlet; between the 42d and the 49th page of the 2d ſection of it. Let it be obſerved, that this is the ſection of his pamphlet which ſeems, in a peculiar manner, to have obtained, as it certainly merited, the higheſt approbation and gratitude of his friends and clients; for to it their vote of thanks is particularly directed. (See Preface to this Memorial.) It muſt therefore be underſtood by every perſon who reads his pamphlet and their vote of thanks, that every thing atrocious, marvellous, and almoſt incredible, which he has aſſerted with reſpect to the Clinical Lectures, is fully adopted and ſanctioned by them; and that they, individually and collectively, vouch for the truth of every thing that he has aſſerted, as what they believed or knew to be true. Let it be obſerved alſo, that the account which he has given of the Clinical Lectures, or rather of the conduct of the Clinical Profeſſors in their practice in the Hoſpital, is ſtated evidently by way of contraſt to the very different conduct of the Surgeons in their department, and plainly with a view to repreſent their practice, and their conduct towards their patients as kindneſs and humanity, compared to what the patients experience who fall under the care of the Clinical Profeſſors.

" *Of*

" *Of the* ESSENTIAL *and* CONSTITUTIONAL CONNECTION *of the* MEDICAL SCHOOL *of* EDINBURGH *with the* ROYAL INFIRMARY.

You may eaſily imagine, Gentlemen, how invaluable a benefit it is to our profeſſion, to have a practical ſchool, ſince the Univerſity itſelf was imperfect, until it had attained a connection with this Hoſpital. It is neceſſary that young phyſicians be made familiar with the ſymptoms of fever, the appearances of eruptions, the varieties of the pulſe, the affections of reſpiration, the changes of the eye, complexion, and countenance, and all the viſible characters of inward diſeaſe: and it becomes the duty of the medical profeſſor to teach practically, not only the genuine practice, but the various theories of medicine. For the performing of theſe duties, Clinical Wards are appointed: this is the department of your Hoſpital which we now proceed to explain; and we hope, that no expreſſion of ours will be interpreted as diſreſpectful to that department of teaching and practice, which we conſider as peculiarly honourable to thoſe who fulfil the duty, as the moſt uſeful part of that courſe of education, which has made this ſchool of medicine eſteemed above any in Europe. (1) (2) (3)

The period was moſt honourable to the patrons and managers of this charity, and ever to be remembered, when, indifferent to vulgar prejudice, and undiſmayed by popular clamour, they permitted this very important department of public teaching to be aſſimilated with their Hoſpital. The univerſity had no proper hoſpital, no accumulated funds, no patronage to beſtow; they had every thing to aſk of your liberality, and nothing to give in return, but that benefit which would accrue to humanity and ſcience from this new mode of inſtruction. Regardleſs of every thing, but (4) (5)

but the general intereſts of ſcience, you received within your walls
(6) a department which could bring along with it nothing but public odium; with moſt commendable liberality, you eſtabliſhed the Clinical Profeſſors in privileges fully equal to thoſe claimed by the
(7) Royal College of Surgeons: you allotted them alſo wards, ſuperior in every reſpect to thoſe of the ſurgeons.

(8) As for experiments in ſurgery, we know of none; it is a department of practice too plain and ſimple not to have ſettled principles: the rules of our ſcience aſcertain, with tolerable preciſion, where an operation is neceſſary. When a white ſwelling is plainly incurable, it is no experiment to cut off the limb, and there is but one
(9) way in which the operation can be performed! but it is an expe-
(10) riment, and a bold one too, when arſenic is given to cure that ſlight intermitting fever which bark and wine will poſitively cure.

It is unqueſtionably true, that the teaching and demonſtrating by experiment the beſt and moſt approved practice, muſt be, upon the whole, advantageous to the ſick; yet the making profeſſed trial of every practice is not ſo! it is only on the preſumption of
(11) general good, that, in this inſtance, experiments, which muſt be a partial evil, are allowed. We unequivocally approve, in the
(12) practice of the medical profeſſion, a latitude which we dare not admit in our own: we unequivocally declare, that we think a clinical ward the moſt uſeful part of a medical inſtitute; yet there are many, above the rank of the vulgar, who will be always doubtful whether your delegated powers, as managers of a public
(13) charity, extend thus omnipotently over the lives of your fellow-creatures.

The univerſity could never, by any public nor private exertion, by its influence, its riches, or the report of its good intentions, and the benefit intended to ſcience, have erected this moſt neceſſary
(14) part of the medical ſchool. A diſtinct Clinical Hoſpital is a thing quite

quite unknown; ſuch an undertaking never was attempted: though a laudable inſtitution, a Clinical Hoſpital muſt be ſhrouded (15) from the public eye. A Clinical Hoſpital, erected with the avowed deſign of receiving deſperate and forlorn caſes! of practiſing ex- (16) periments! of teaching the profeſſion to young phyſicians! of proving the hypotheſes of medicine! and trying, by experience, (17) the efficacy of drugs, will never paſs upon the world for a mere charity. Such an inſtitution would be looked upon with jealouſy by the rich, and by the poor with horror. Thoſe who entered, by ſad neceſſity, into ſuch a hoſpital, would believe themſelves every way loſt; and thoſe who died, would be thought to have ſuffered. Gentlemen, it is to your liberal conſtructions of the deſign of ſuch an inſtitution, and to your regard for ſcience and the general intereſts of humanity, that we owe the benefits of the Clinical Wards and Lectures. Your motives for allowing this dangerous innova- (18) tion were pure and open. No buſy ſearcher into the records of your Infirmary can prove, on this occaſion, a pactum illicitum! a preſent of money! an actual reward for the perverſion of the judgment! a logical, or a real bribe! No, the univerſity had nothing to give, and every thing to gain.

So it happened, however, that Clinical Wards were appointed, and lectures on the caſes of the patients were given in your Hoſpital; a thing unknown in London, or in other ſchools! and books (19) of experiments, under the undiſguiſed name of CLINICAL EXPERIMENTS, were publiſhed by the Profeſſors of the univerſity, (20) and trials of new medicines, and new methods of cure, made on the good people of this city: for what end? not for the inſtruction of our own native ſurgeons, but for the inſtruction of young men, convened by the celebrity of the ſchool, from all parts of the world.

What then is the nature of this new department, ingrafted thus upon the original conſtitution of this Hoſpital? What unbought privileges have the profeſſors of the univerſity acquired?—They,

without

without any exertion to erect a ſchool, have found one in your wards! and without the invidious name of Clinical Hoſpital, they
(21) have a ſafe place where they can make experiments, as dangerous, as long continued, as expenſive as they pleaſe! without a new inſti-
(22) tution to ſupport, they receive the fees of the numerous pupils, and without adding to the funds of the houſe, (ſince thoſe pupils pay to the infirmary no more than the ordinary fees), they have
(23) poſſeſſion of wards, larger and better appointed than thoſe allotted to our ſurgical department: Without their purpoſe being obſerved,
(24) they can go into the waiting-room, and mark out the moſt dangerous diſeaſes as the ſubjects for their practice. Sometimes when patients, having uncommon diſeaſes, are received by the ordinary
(25) phyſicians, they are reclaimed by the Clinical Profeſſors, the rightful lords of the manor! At one time fevers, at another palſies, at
(26) another time hydropſies or convulſions, are in requeſt! The Hoſpital itſelf, and all its patients, are at the command of the Clinical Profeſſors! they walk in among theſe patients! look at them!
(27) hang their noſological labels and tallies round their necks! and ſend them to their own wards, there to prick off the lines of the prevail-
(28) ing doctrines upon their bodies.

Let us now apply to this department of the practical ſchool, the obſervations and criticiſms of your enterpriſing Memorialiſt. "The ſurgeons," ſays he, "ſucceed each other in rapid ſucceſſion every two months." It is true, but where the ſurgeon is changed, his aſſiſtant uſually ſucceeds him! Each ſurgeon begins to attend the Infirmary a month before his term of duty arrives, and he does not ceaſe to attend till thoſe upon whom he has performed any great operation are well. Though the ſurgeon is changed every two months, the patients are permanent; the practice is ſteady, rational, and conſiſtent; numbers of ſurgeons are in conſtant attendance in the conſultation room, to aſſiſt the attending ſurgeon with their advice; he often appeals to them, and there

ſeldom

ſeldom paſſes a day in which he does not bring patients with various complaints into the conſulting room; either to conſult about their caſes when they are received, to remark, to his fellow-ſurgeons, any remarkable changes in their diſeaſes, or to ſhow their condition before they are diſcharged.

But in the Clinical Ward, the phyſician in attendance is always alone and unaſſiſted; his office is indeed of ſuch a nature as will (29) not allow of advice or aſſiſtance. Each winter two phyſicians take charge of theſe wards, and each attends but a little more than two months. The firſt phyſician comes out in November, fills his wards, aſſorts his diſeaſes, writes notes and regular reports of his patients' complaints; completes his experiments, lectures on their caſes, and then empties theſe wards, by delivering his patients over to the ordinary phyſicians, or by actually diſmiſſing them from the houſe. Is it not happy for theſe poor people, that they have not the ſenſibilities and delicacies of people bred in the higher ranks of life? This is a kind of teaching, in which the demonſtrator chalks his lines and diagrams on the board, till, having demonſtrated too much at once, his lines become perplexed! (30) but he takes his ſpunge, and wipes all clear for ſome new demonſtration.

Theſe being profeſſed experiments, it is not uſual for the ſecond profeſſor to complete the experiments, or purſue the practice of the firſt. The wards which are opened in November are emptied in January, in February they are filled again! Then come new patients, new caſes, new experiments, new doctrines, and a new Profeſſor! all theſe things are changed, and "the WHALE" finds itſelf ſporting in a freſh element, with NEW TUBS of all forms and dimenſions, floating around it.

But if experience be required, in what ſtation ſhould it be more deſirable, than in conducting a clinical ward; where good ſenſe, prudence, diſcretion, and profeſſional knowledge are all needful? It

is the part of the Hoſpital to which the moſt hopeleſs and deſperate
(31) caſes are conveyed; the ſtage of perpetual experiments; the ſcene upon which the public eye is fixed; the department of your inſtitution, where popular prejudices are moſt to be feared. It is the ſchool, too, where the phyſician not only practiſes on his fellow-creatures, but inſtructs, at once, hundreds of young men, and extends the errors or benefits of his own practice to diſtant
(32) times and countries.

Where, in all the circle of medical teaching, in ſchools, colleges,
(33) or hoſpitals, is there a more important charge? Let the Memorialiſt remember by which of the profeſſors theſe duties are fulfilled! and learn to ſpeak diſcreetly of us, though we are young men!"

Before I offer any remarks on the particular paſſages of this admirable philippic, which paſſages I have pointed out by marginal numbers, I think it neceſſary to premiſe a few obſervations on the general tenor of it, and that kind of miſrepreſentation which pervades it from end to end.

In the firſt place, then, it muſt be obvious to every perſon, that he has uniformly employed the term *clinical* as ſynonymous with *empirical* or *experimental*. He has not indeed defined or explained it, but he has uniformly employed it in this ſenſe; ſo uniformly, that no perſon who did not previouſly know the meaning of the word, or who had never even ſeen it or heard it but in the paſſage quoted from Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, could ever ſuſpect that it had any other meaning: but in truth that is not the meaning of the word *clinical*, nor, to the beſt of my knowledge and belief, was it ever uſed in that ſenſe by any perſon but Mr John Bell himſelf.

If this miſtake or perverſion of the meaning of a common medical word proceeded from ignorance in Mr John Bell, and if the ſanctioning of it by their vote of thanks proceeded from correſponding

ponding ignorance in his clients, it would be indeed a deplorable example of medical men uſing one of their commoneſt profeſſional words without underſtanding it; but it would not imply any diſingenuity or wilful miſrepreſention on their part. It would be juſt like the common blunder of the patients and the nurſes in the clinical wards, who, ignorant not only of the meaning but of the ſpelling of the word, often call them the *trinical*, and ſometimes the *trinity* wards. But as ſuch ignorance could not account for their uniformly uſing the word clinical in a ſenſe totally different from its own, and one groſsly unfavourable to the Clinical Profeſſors, and to the Managers of the Infirmary, I can hardly believe that the conduct of Mr John Bell and his clients in this reſpect proceeded from honeſt ignorance: but if they wiſh to avail themſelves of ſuch a miſerable excuſe, they are heartily welcome; my opinion is to be underſtood as expreſſed with a *ſalvo jure* to them.

The word Clinical, by its derivation and original meaning, as well as by the uniform uſe and application of it in the converſation and writings of Phyſicians, has always been underſtood to mean that kind of medical practice and inſtruction which relates to patients labouring under ſuch acute or other dangerous diſeaſes as to be almoſt or wholly confined to bed. It is derived from the Greek word *cline*, which ſignifies a bed, and the word *clinical*, as uſed in this medical ſchool, the firſt in theſe kingdoms in which Clinical Lectures were given, relates properly to certain medical lectures; but by a natural and almoſt inevitable latitude of ſpeech, is extended to the patients whoſe caſes are the ſubjects of thoſe lectures, to thoſe wards of the Hoſpital in which theſe patients are entertained, and even to the Profeſſors who read thoſe lectures. Clinical Lectures are practical medical lectures, which differ from the general ſyſtematic lectures on the practice of phyſic, in this reſpect, that while in the latter the Profeſſor treats of the ſeveral diſeaſes to

which the human body is ſubject, conſidered in a general view, without any reference to the peculiarities that may take place in individual patients; in the former, the Clinical Lectures, the Profeſſor endeavours to point out to his pupils the peculiarities in the caſe of every individual patient with reſpect to the cauſes, the ſymptoms, the progreſs, the probable event, and the actual termination of the diſeaſe; the reaſons for employing a particular plan of cure, for chooſing certain remedies, for varying the adminiſtration of theſe, or in ſome caſes for changing them altogether and employing other remedies: and he endeavours to point out and to diſtinguiſh thoſe ſymptoms, whether uſual or accidental, that proceed from the diſeaſe, and thoſe, favourable or unfavourable, common or uncommon, which proceed from the remedies employed.

In ſhort, the Clinical Lectures are juſt a commentary on the practice which the Profeſſor employs on the patients under his care: and according to the moſt ſtrict and literal meaning of clinical lectures, they ought to be delivered actually at the bed-ſide of the patients. To a certain degree this is really done, in the form of thoſe full reports, as they are called, or deſcriptions of the ſtate of the patient, the progreſs or change of ſymptoms, and the effects of remedies; which reports are generally made more full and particular by the Clinical Profeſſors than it is neceſſary, or even poſſible, for the ordinary Phyſicians of the Hoſpital to make them with reſpect to their patients, who are ſo much more numerous. Nay, occaſionally, in the clinical wards, remarks are made by the Profeſſors, and the attention of the ſtudents is particularly called to many little circumſtances as they occur, which cannot be explained by any deſcription, or learned in any other way but by actual obſervation. But the impropriety of carrying very far this kind of clinical inſtruction muſt be obvious. Even the indelicacy, or in many caſes the cruelty, of ſpeaking freely of the nature and

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danger of the diſeaſes in the hearing of the patients themſelves, muſt preclude all thoughts of delivering full clinical lectures at their bed-ſides. The time unavoidably required for ſuch lectures would make them very diſtreſſing to the patients, as well as highly inconvenient to the Profeſſor and the ſtudents: and it may fairly be preſumed, that the lectures will be in every reſpect at leaſt as good, and in many reſpects much better, when the Profeſſor is allowed ſome time to prepare them, by collecting and arranging his thoughts, by conſulting different authors whoſe obſervations and reaſonings tend to illuſtrate the ſubjects of the lectures; nay, even by comparing or contraſting together the caſes of ſeveral patients labouring under the ſame or ſimilar diſeaſes, which often tend greatly to explain and illuſtrate one another.

Such explanations and commentaries, on the part of a phyſician who practiſes in an hoſpital, muſt always be uſeful to the ſtudents who were obſerving and learning his practice, and to many of them muſt be abſolutely neceſſary. A ſtudent of good talents, who has already made conſiderable progreſs in the ſtudy of phyſic, and who has even ſeen a good deal of practice, either in hoſpitals or in private, may very probably underſtand, without the help of any explanation or commentary, all that the Profeſſor can tell him in his lectures: but this cannot be the caſe with all the ſtudents, nor indeed with any of them at firſt. A ſtudent juſt beginning to ſee actual practice may not know what the diſeaſe is which he ſees, even though a ſimple one; or if he knows what the diſeaſe is called, he may have very erroneous, imperfect, or confuſed notions of the nature, the cauſes, the progreſs, and the probable terminations of it: he muſt be ſtill more at a loſs when any uncommon accidental ſymptoms occur in ſuch a diſeaſe; and moſt of all, when two or more diſeaſes, as often happens, are combined at once in the ſame perſon: he may be much at a loſs to know the import of many ſymptoms, as favourable or unfavourable, and even to diſtinguiſh between

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between the ſymptoms of the diſeaſe and the effects of the remedies employed: he may ſcarce underſtand the general purpoſe or plan of cure which the Phyſician adopts, and very generally can have no notion of the reaſons for which a Phyſician employs certain remedies, in preference to others of the ſame kind; of his reaſon for giving thoſe medicines in a certain manner, as to form, and doſe, and repetition, and for changing occaſionally, not only the mode of adminiſtering the remedies, but the remedies altogether, and for trying others perhaps of a very different kind. Theſe are the purpoſes of clinical lectures; and for theſe and no other purpoſes did the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, more than fifty years ago, give permiſſion to the Profeſſors of Phyſic to read clinical lectures on the caſes of ſome of the patients admitted into this Hoſpital.

Nothing more than that kind of practice moſt innocent with reſpect to the patients, and that kind of inſtruction moſt uſeful with reſpect to the ſtudents, ever was intended by the Managers, in permitting the inſtitution of Clinical Lectures, or underſtood or accepted by the Profeſſors in diſcharging the duties of that important office. It would be abſurd to ſet about proving that ſuch clinical lectures cannot be injurious or dangerous; but it is worth while to point out, as this may not be obvious to every perſon, that they cannot fail, every thing elſe being equal, to prove highly beneficial to the patients. It muſt not be conſidered as a reflection injurious to the ordinary phyſicians of this or of any other hoſpital; for I have no ſuch thought, when I ſay that it would be for the benefit of all patients, in hoſpitals and not in hoſpitals, if their phyſicians were obliged to read Clinical Lectures on their caſes. I do not know, nor can I conceive, any human contrivance, that can more effectually and irreſiſtibly oblige the phyſician to ſtudy carefully the caſe of his patient; to attend to every ſymptom or change of ſymptom in it; to exert himſelf to the utmoſt for his patient's

patient's relief, and at the ſame time to be as cautious as poſſible in the remedies that he employs; than to find himſelf under the *neceſſity* of giving a minute account of every thing that he has done, in a very public manner, and before a number of competent judges. I do not mean to ſay, that ſuch a ſyſtem ever can be eſtabliſhed, or that in general it is neceſſary on account of the ignorance, lazineſs, indifference, negligence, or raſhneſs of phyſicians: but I ſay with confidence, that if ſuch a ſyſtem were eſtabliſhed no patient could ſuffer by it, and many would profit greatly. Such little deficiencies as I have mentioned, though not common, are not quite unknown in phyſicians, whoſe patients muſt ſometimes have ſuffered ſeverely by them; which they would not have done, if their phyſicians had been *compelled* to that ſtrict attention, and perſevering exertion, which are abſolutely indiſpenſable in Clinical Profeſſors. Theſe profeſſors can have no more pretenſions to infallibility than other phyſicians: like other phyſicians, but I preſume not more, they muſt ſometimes err in their judgment, and be unſucceſsful in their practice: but I am ſure they cannot incur the ſuſpicion of lazineſs, negligence, or raſhneſs. Their own fame and fortune are ſo completely and immediately at ſtake, that if they were by nature unfeeling and raſh, and by habit lazy and negligent, they would find themſelves, by their ſituation, rouſed to thoſe exertions and cautions, which a ſenſe of duty and every humane and honourable conſideration require of every phyſician.

What I have here ſtated as the neceſſary conſequence of the inſtitution of Clinical Lectures, or ſome other correſponding ſyſtem, which may be ſuppoſed, though it cannot be put in practice, with reſpect to all phyſicians, is in a great meaſure verified with reſpect to the practice of the ordinary Phyſicians in this Hoſpital; whoſe daily viſits, whoſe regular reports of the caſes of the patients in the preſence of a number of ſtudents, many of whom are well qualified to judge of all that they ſee and hear, are almoſt

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equivalent to the obligation of reading Clinical Lectures. Of the great and good effect of this part of our Hoſpital ſyſtem thoſe can beſt judge who have ſeen how differently the practice of the phyſicians is conducted in ſome other hoſpitals, in which the phyſicians do not ſee their patients every day, perhaps only once a-week; in which they give no reports of the hiſtory and progreſs of their diſeaſes; and in which they do not act under the inſpection of ſo many, ſo well informed, and ſuch formidable judges of their conduct.

Correſponding to that account which Mr John Bell has given of *Clinical* Lectures and inſtruction, and evidently intended to make a part of it, is the notion that he ſtrongly inſinuates, of the nature of thoſe *experiments* of which he wiſhes to repreſent the patients under the care of the Clinical Profeſſors as the miſerable victims. This part of his diſcourſe is made the more horrible by being cautiouſly expreſſed in obſcure general terms, which ſtrongly convey the meaning of ſomething dreadfully bad: too bad perhaps to be mentioned particularly; and therefore to be left in a great meaſure to the imagination of the tender-hearted reader. But that no reader's imagination might take a *wrong* direction, and indulge a pleaſing dream that thoſe *experiments* of the Clinical Profeſſors were only the faithful and public diſcharge of that well-known and indiſpenſable duty which every phyſician owes to all his patients, both in hoſpitals and in private; of that duty which every perſon of ſenſe *expects*, and which many perſons, when themſelves, or their families, or their friends are ſick, *demand* of their phyſicians, often too haſtily and importunately; namely, that they ſhould firſt employ thoſe remedies, that is, *try* thoſe *experiments*, which they think ſafeſt and moſt likely to be ſucceſsful, but, failing theſe, ſhould *try* other remedies, even though leſs promiſing, and more rough, and more dangerous; in ſhort, that they ſhould leave nothing *untried* that may give their patients their beſt or only

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chance for recovery or relief;—Mr John Bell has moſt judiciouſly and kindly aſſiſted and directed the wandering imaginations of his gentle readers, by ſuch hints as theſe: "that it becomes the duty of the medical Profeſſors to teach practically, not only the genuine practice, but the *various theories* of medicine: that for the performing of theſe duties clinical wards are appointed: that the Managers, *indifferent to vulgar prejudice*, and *undiſmayed by popular clamour*, and *regardleſs of every thing but the general intereſts of ſcience*, permitted this very important department to be aſſimilated with their Hoſpital: that though the teaching and demonſtrating by experiment the beſt and moſt approved practice muſt be upon the whole advantageous to the ſick, yet the making profeſſed *trial of every* practice *is not ſo:* that a diſtinct clinical hoſpital is a thing quite unknown; ſuch an undertaking never was attempted; though a laudable inſtitution, a clinical hoſpital muſt be *ſhrouded from the public eye:* A clinical hoſpital, erected with the avowed deſign of receiving deſperate and forlorn caſes, of *practiſing experiments*, of teaching the profeſſion to young phyſicians, of proving the *hypotheſes* of medicine, and trying *by experience the efficacy of drugs*, will never paſs upon the world for a mere charity; ſuch an inſtitution would be looked upon with *jealouſy* by the rich, and by the poor with *horror*; thoſe who enter by ſad neceſſity into ſuch an hoſpital, would believe themſelves *every way loſt*, and thoſe who died would be thought to have *ſuffered.* They (the Profeſſors) have a ſafe place where they can *make experiments*, as *dangerous*, as long continued, as expenſive as they pleaſe: As for experiments in ſurgery, we know of none. It is a department of practice too plain and ſimple not to have ſettled principles: but it is an *experiment*, and *a bold one* too, when *arſenic* is given to cure that ſlight intermittent fever which bark and wine will poſitively cure," &c. This is the only particular inſtance which he has thought fit to give, of that kind of practice, and thoſe experi-

ments, which he repreſents as the peculiar purpoſe of the clinical wards, and the proper duty of the Clinical Profeſſors.

From theſe few ſpecimens that I have quoted, and ſtill better from the whole tenor of his diſcourſe, quoted verbatim, page 373. to 378. of this Memorial, every reader may judge for himſelf what notion of the buſineſs of the clinical wards, and of the conduct of the Clinical Profeſſors, and indeed of the Managers of the Infirmary, Mr John Bell wiſhed to give the public; but let it be remembered always, that the horrible inſtitution, which he deſcribes in ſuch ſtrong terms, is, at the ſame time, made the ſubject of his higheſt and almoſt extravagant encomiums. For what purpoſe theſe encomiums are laviſhed on it, he beſt can explain; but it is at leaſt abundantly evident, that he wiſhes to repreſent the Managers as having given, and the Clinical Profeſſors as having accepted and actually employed in their practice, a latitude with reſpect to their profeſſional conduct, which phyſicians are not allowed in their ordinary practice, either in private or in hoſpitals; and which in this Hoſpital at leaſt the Managers did not allow to the ordinary phyſicians. Nay, Mr John Bell has had the ſingular goodneſs and liberality to declare, that he and his brethren unequivocally approve in the practice of the medical profeſſion, a *latitude* which they dare not admit in their own.

With reſpect to clinical wards, and clinical lectures, at leaſt in the Royal Infirmary, and the Univerſity of Edinburgh, I may without vanity ſuppoſe that I know as much as moſt men living. For more than thirty years I have been well acquainted with thoſe wards, and in the laſt ſix-and-twenty years I have myſelf conducted twenty courſes of clinical lectures, of three months each; implying my having treated in the clinical wards about two thouſand patients: and I declare, ſolemnly and unequivocally, that I never underſtood, that the Clinical Profeſſors had any ſuch peculiar latitude in their conduct, or any peculiar power or privi-

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lege of trying experiments on their patients, or of teaching practically the various theories of medicine. I never underſtood, or heard, nor can I even now, after peruſing Mr John Bell's high encomium on the Managers for their very liberal conduct, believe that the ſaid Managers *could* give ſuch a permiſſion or ſuch latitude to the Clinical Profeſſors. They certainly could neither abſolve themſelves from their own ſolemn oath, to diſcharge faithfully their duty as Managers of the Hoſpital, nor abſolve the Clinical Profeſſors from the oath which they had taken when firſt permitted to act as phyſicians. They could not even give theſe Profeſſors, ſuppoſing them to have taken no ſuch oath, a diſpenſation from the well-known duties of their profeſſion. Theſe duties, and the oath by which they are uſually enforced, make no diſtinction between rich patients and poor; between thoſe in private houſes and thoſe in a great hoſpital; between thoſe in the common wards and thoſe in the clinical wards of this Infirmary. I do not believe that any Manager of the Infirmary ever thought of giving, or any Profeſſor of accepting, ſuch a horrible diſpenſation; any more than they would have thought of giving or accepting a diſpenſation from the Ten Commandments, from the laws of their country, from allegiance to their Sovereign, and from every moral duty. But ſuppoſing, for the ſake of argument, that at the time when the clinical lectures were firſt eſtabliſhed, ſuch a diſpenſation, or permiſſion, was given by the Managers, and that it has been continued by all their ſucceſſors in that important truſt for fifty years; and that it was accepted by all the Clinical Profeſſors, and that all of them have availed themſelves of it in their practice: then I ſay with confidence, that, far from deſerving thoſe high encomiums which Mr John Bell has beſtowed upon them, and which his clients have ſo ſtrongly ſanctioned, every ſuch Manager and Profeſſor, and every perſon who approves of ſuch conduct, *ought to be hanged.* Nay, I will go one ſtep farther, and give it as my

opinion, that every perſon who entertains any doubts on that point, alſo deſerves to be hanged: for Mr John Bell has been pleaſed to ſay, after praiſing in the higheſt terms the conduct of the Managers, " Yet there are many above the rank of the vulgar, " who will be always doubtful, whether your delegated powers as " Managers of a public charity, extend thus omnipotently over " the lives of your fellow-creatures."

As the moſt complete proof that I can give of what I have always underſtood to be the purpoſe of Clinical Lectures, and the duty of the Clinical Profeſſors in their hoſpital-practice, I ſhall give here the exact words of that part of my introductory Clinical Lecture which relates to my general plan of practice in the Infirmary, and the trying of experiments on the patients. That lecture, and eſpecially this paſſage of it, though never printed, I conſider as having long been publiſhed; for I am ſure it will be recogniſed by many hundreds of my pupils, ſome of whom I hope will take the trouble to compare it with their own manuſcript copies of it. A great part of that lecture was occaſionally varied; but this paſſage was never omitted, when I began the clinical courſe; becauſe I thought it of peculiar importance, for moral as well as phyſical reaſons.

" With reſpect to my general plan of practice in the clinical wards, the rule which I have laid down to myſelf ever ſince I entered on the exerciſe of my profeſſion, to which I mean always to adhere, and which I ſhould moſt earneſtly recommend to you all, at leaſt till you have learned by ſome years experience *quid ferre recuſent, quid valeant humeri*, is to begin with the ſimpleſt, ſafeſt, and moſt approved method of cure; even though it be the commoneſt.

" Such is the method, that duty to his patients, or a regard to their ſafety, as well as prudence, or a regard to his own intereſt and character,

character, will oblige every practitioner, and more eſpecially every young practitioner, to employ.

"If it ſucceeds, you cannot have a better or a more uſeful leſſon. If it fails, then is the time for varying our practice, and trying new experiments; for then it is not only allowable, but incumbent on every Phyſician, however limited his knowledge and ſmall his experience may be, to alter his method, which he finds is not likely to ſucceed, and to try another, and another, in hopes of better ſucceſs. But even theſe trials are not to be made indiſcriminately, or raſhly, or at random.

"The Phyſician ſhould have at leaſt ſome probable, though he can never have any certain grounds, on which to proceed: in other words, he ſhould have ſome reaſons for the trials that he makes, and for the preference that he gives to certain remedies. If he has already had any experience of their good effects in ſimilar diſorders, even though ſucceſs has not always attended their uſe, he need not heſitate about giving them. If he is informed from authority that he thinks reſpectable, for he muſt not give too much credit to the information of the vulgar, the ignorant, and the intereſted, that a remedy has been found highly ſerviceable in a particular diſeaſe, he is entitled, and I think it is his duty, to give it a trial. Even without any experience or information to guide him, if, from his knowledge of the nature of the diſeaſe, and his opinion of the powers of any untried remedy, of which he may form at leaſt a probable conjecture from its ſenſible qualities, its chemical properties, and its reſemblance or affinity to medicines of known efficacy, that it is likely to be of ſervice in ſuch a diſeaſe, and at the ſame time is convinced that it may be adminiſtered with ſafety to the patient, he ought unqueſtionably to give it a trial. Such is the *right*, and the *duty*, of every rational Phyſician; and ſuch is the method by which, with caution and attention, and accurate obſervation, joined to profeſſional knowledge and natural acuteneſs,

moſt likely to ſucceed, you cannot expect that I ſhould change it ſuddenly, or till I find that it is likely to fail; unleſs ſome circumſtance either occurs to myſelf, or is ſuggeſted to me by you, which ſhows the expediency or neceſſity of altering my plan. In ſuch caſes, you may be aſſured that it ſhall be altered immediately.

" I ſhall make no apology for the feebleneſs of my practice on many occaſions, and for the frequent employment of *placebos*. In caſes ſuch as often occur, in which nothing can be done, or in which nothing is needed, or in which I do not ſee at once what is required, and wiſh to have ſome time to conſider what I ſhould do, ſuch *placebos* are the very beſt remedies that I can preſcribe. It is even proper, for reaſons already mentioned, that patients ſhould ſometimes be deceived by ſuch remedies. They are not intended to deceive you, nor can they do it. But you muſt keep my ſecret, for the patient's benefit, as well as my credit.

" It may be more neceſſary to make ſome apology for certain pieces of practice which I occaſionally employ, that may appear to you rough at leaſt, if not raſh and dangerous. This I do ſometimes, from a deliberate conviction that it is my duty to give my patients every chance for recovery or relief. Many of the caſes which I treat in the clinical wards are almoſt or quite deſperate; eſpecially if no very powerful means of cure be tried: yet even in caſes ſeemingly deſperate, I have ſometimes been ſucceſsful by the help of remedies ſo ſtrong, that, if the patients had died, it might naturally have been thought, that I had killed them by the violence of the remedies which I preſcribed. In all ſuch caſes, whatever be the event of them, as you know the principle on which I proceed, I ſhall without ſcruple truſt to your candour and deliberate judgment. I ſurely need not caution you againſt a vulgar practice, in itſelf equally unreaſonable and illiberal, of blaming a phyſician for every piece of practice that does not ſucceed; and

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more eſpecially for every preſcription that ſeems to do, or that really does harm. The phyſician's preſcription may not ſave the patient; it may hurt him; it may haſten his death, or may even be the immediate cauſe of it; while yet before trial it appeared, and perhaps was in fact, the beſt or only chance that the patient had for his life. *Conjecturalis eſt ars medica*, ſays Celſus; and ſo it ever muſt be, from the nature of the ſubject on which it operates. This is no reproach to phyſicians; but it is a very great one not to know, that ſuch is the condition and the nature of medicine.

"Few phyſicians I believe can deny that they have loſt ſome patients, and, for my own part, I certainly cannot deny that I have loſt ſome, by the unexpected or violent effects of remedies: but I can ſay with confidence, that I know of very few ſuch inſtances in my own practice, and of a great many of the very oppoſite kind; I mean of patients, whom I loſt, who had at leaſt a chance for recovery, by means of remedies which I was afraid to try. As I am no caſuiſt, I preſume not to determine whether, in ſuch caſes, the ſins of commiſſion, or thoſe of omiſſion, be the greateſt: but I know well which are the moſt frequent, and the moſt pernicious."

It muſt not be thought, that the notion of clinical lectures, and of the practice of the Profeſſors in the wards of this Hoſpital, which I have thus endeavoured to explain, is peculiar to myſelf: nothing elſe, I am ſure, was ever intended by the Managers, when they permitted the Profeſſors of Medicine to practiſe in this Infirmary, and to read lectures on the caſes of their patients. Nor do I believe, that any perſon of competent information and judgment ever yet entertained a different notion of them. In proof of this,

I ſhall quote but a very few authorities, the moſt unexceptionable that can be conceived.

The firſt of theſe is the Hiſtory of the Royal Infirmary, compiled by the late Dr Stedman, and publiſhed in 1778, but without the name of the author. After mentioning the permiſſion given to all ſtudents of medicine, on paying a ſmall gratuity, to attend the Hoſpital, that they might have all the benefit that could be derived from the practice of the phyſicians and ſurgeons, he proceeds, (page 16th) to give an account of the eſtabliſhment of clinical lectures, in theſe words:

" Farther, the Managers, conſidering that the defect of clinical lectures in medical ſeminaries had often proved a ground of complaint, gave liberty to the Profeſſors of Medicine to lecture on ſuch caſes of the patients as they ſhould find moſt conducive to the inſtruction of the ſtudents. This was the only branch wanting in the medical courſe; and it may be conſidered as a practical illuſtration of what ſtudents have read by themſelves, or heard in the different claſſes.' The field, from which the Profeſſor who hath the charge of this department ſelects his patients, being ample, a variety of curious and intereſting caſes may be ſuppoſed to preſent themſelves in the ſpace of ſix months. To hear, and, if ſtudents chooſe, to commit to writing, the hiſtories of theſe, their daily change of ſymptoms, the various preſcriptions, and a minute inveſtigation of the whole in the ſubſequent lectures, ſeems to be all that can be done for initiating them in the practice of medicine."

The next authority I ſhall quote is one much more recent, being exactly coeval with Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, and one of thoſe publications to which my former Memorial gave occaſion. It is entitled, " Outlines of a Plan for the Regulation of the Surgi- " cal Department of the Royal Infirmary, by John Thomſon, Fel- " low of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh." In this plan

plan he propoſes, " That each ordinary Surgeon be allowed to give a clinical lecture, weekly or oftener; in which he ſhall explain to the ſtudents the nature of the caſes admitted into his wards, and the reaſons of his own practice; and that in the event of the ordinary ſurgeon declining the privilege of lecturing, it ſhall be permitted to one or other of the aſſiſtants to perform that duty."

Further, in explaining his plan, and ſtating the reaſons for every part of it, he adds, " It is ſuperfluous to inſiſt on the advantages which the ſtudents of ſurgery would derive from the regular and ſtated delivery of clinical lectures; for this mode of teaching medicine and ſurgery by example is the ſureſt and ſafeſt, if not the ſpeedieſt method, that can be followed in forming able and ſkilful practitioners.

" But if clinical lectures be in an eminent degree uſeful to ſtudents, it is not leſs certain, that they would indirectly benefit the patients. If there be any thing which can induce the raſh practitioner to pauſe, the inconſiderate to reflect, or the ill informed to ſeek for inſtruction, it is the neceſſity of explaining the grounds of his practice, and his opinions of diſeaſe, to an audience collected from the ſtudents of this Univerſity."

The only other authority on this point that I ſhall quote, is one alſo very recent, I believe rather ſubſequent to, than coeval with Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me. It is one which he and all his clients muſt admit to be unexceptionable and ſupreme; I mean the " Plan for the better Regulation of the Surgical Department of " the Royal Infirmary, ſubmitted to the conſideration of the Ma- " nagers of that Charitable Inſtitution, by the Royal College of " Surgeons;" that is to ſay, by that party, in number fifteen, of the Royal College of Surgeons, which at that time had got the upper hand by a majority of one; and to the beſt of my knowledge, information, and belief, acted under the moſt auſpicious guidance and immediate direction of Mr John Bell himſelf. Of

that plan, the eighth regulation is expreſſed in the following words. " That the Ordinary Surgeons ſhall have it in their power to give clinical lectures during their attendance, for three months each, or one of them for ſix months; and in caſe neither of them incline to do ſo, the conſulting Surgeons in rotation, according to ſeniority, ſhall be entitled to deliver ſuch lectures."

This regulation is explained and enforced by the following commentary. " The improvement of ſurgery is an object of the firſt importance to the community; and it appears to the College, that nothing leads more directly to ſuch improvement than the delivering of clinical lectures: for it not only requires on the part of the ſurgeon the moſt minute attention to the caſe, but obliges him alſo to ſtudy the profeſſion in all its branches, with aſſiduity and perſeverance."

I preſume it will hardly be maintained, even by the keeneſt of medical diſputants, that the word clinical, and conſequently the phraſe clinical lectures, have one meaning (the ſame as empirical or experimental) on the firſt floor of this Infirmary, and a totally different meaning up two pair of ſtairs: nor yet will it be pretended, that experiments in ſurgery are leſs cruel or horrible than experiments in phyſic: But ſurely nothing contained in either of thoſe propoſals for clinical lectures on the patients in the ſurgery wards, implies any inſinuation of trying experiments on them; or any one of thoſe marvellous and horrible powers and privileges which Mr John Bell ſo highly bepraiſes the Managers for conferring on the Medical Profeſſors who conduct the clinical lectures.

It is not enough to conſider the general tenor of Mr John Bell's account of the clinical lectures, for many particular paſſages in it well deſerve animadverſion. Moſt of theſe are marked by numerical references on the margin, of which references I ſhall now avail myſelf in conſidering the ſeveral paſſages which they point out, and

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which I wiſh to be viewed always in their full relation to the context: but that I may not ſeparate things naturally connected, I ſhall take them in the order which ſeems moſt convenient, not always in the order of the numbers on the margin.

N° 1. *A Practical School.* A practical ſchool is indeed an invaluable benefit, both in phyſic and ſurgery; and, far from being any injury to the patients, muſt be greatly for their good, provided only it be of the proper kind, and well conducted. But there is a ſtriking ambiguity in the phraſe *practical ſchool*, as here employed by Mr John Bell; and, to the beſt of my judgment, there is a correſponding and ſtudied obſcurity in the uſe which he makes of that and ſimilar expreſſions from end to end of his pamphlet. A *practical ſchool* of phyſic or ſurgery may mean a great hoſpital which ſtudents are permitted to attend, and conſequently to ſee and learn the practice of the phyſicians and ſurgeons who are ſelected by the managers to take care of the patients in their reſpective departments, and perhaps authoriſed or required to explain the reaſons of their practice, and their notions of the diſeaſes which they had treated, by reading clinical lectures on the caſes which had come under their care.

But a practical ſchool may alſo be underſtood to mean a great hoſpital, in which phyſicians and ſurgeons, eſpecially the youngeſt and moſt inexperienced of theſe, are to be allowed to learn their reſpective arts, by practiſing on the patients admitted into it, and for this purpoſe, are allowed to attend, in very quick ſucceſſion, on a ſyſtem of indiſcriminate rotation. That this was the meaning and intention of Deacon Kennedy and his friends, at the time when they made their odious bargain with the Managers of this Infirmary, is eſtabliſhed beyond all poſſibility of doubt; indeed it was avowed by themſelves: and I cannot think it very uncharitable to ſuppoſe that ſomething of the ſame meaning and intention may

may have been entertained by their worthy ſucceſſors, even to the preſent hour, notwithſtanding Mr John Bell's very ſtrong aſſertions, that a ſurgeon cannot, like a phyſician, improve by experience, and *bona fide* has no need of it, as he ought to be perfect in operations before he preſume to touch the knife. But that no injuſtice may be done to Mr John Bell and his clients on this very delicate point, I ſhall leave it to themſelves to ſay who are to be the *ſcholars* and who the *teachers* in that practical ſchool of ſurgery which they wiſh to have in this Infirmary. If the ſurgeons apprentices, and other ſtudents of phyſic, are to be the ſcholars, by ſeeing the practice and operations of the ſurgeons, I ſee no objections to ſuch a ſchool, which certainly muſt be at leaſt as good for the ſcholars, probably much better, when a few Surgeons are ſelected for the Hoſpital-duty, than when all the Surgeons of this city attend indiſcriminately by rotation. But if the ſcholars are themſelves to be the practitioners and operators, *purely becauſe they would be the better for more experience, which muſt be the caſe with all of them at firſt*, as Deacon Kennedy and his friends moſt ſagaciouſly argued, ſuch a ſchool muſt ever be a horrible abomination. This point it is unneceſſary to diſcuſs again: my opinion on it has been ſtated fully already. I ſhall therefore, in proof of it, only quote two ſhort paragraphs from my former Memorial, page 60. " To " thoſe who are learning the arts of phyſic and ſurgery, the im- " provement that may be fairly derived from a well-conducted " hoſpital is great beyond all calculation. But this ought to con- " ſiſt in their having opportunities of ſeeing and learning the prac- " tice of the moſt ſkilful, intelligent, and experienced phyſicians " and ſurgeons.

" Whatever is beſt for the patients, it is beſt for the ſtudents to " learn. Whatever is learned, or whatever real or ſuppoſed im- " provement is acquired at the expence of the poor patients, I " mean by any unneceſſary ſuffering, or danger, or harm to them,

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" is injuſtice and cruelty, inſtead of charity, benevolence, and " brotherly love to the ſufferers; it is a breach of truſt in thoſe " who do it, or permit it; it is an outrage on human nature."

It may be obſerved, that, in the long paſſage laſt quoted from the Anſwer to me, Mr John Bell labours hard to point out ſome reſemblance between the ſyſtem of indiſcriminate attendance of the Surgeons by rotation, and the attendance of ſeveral of the Profeſſors of Phyſic in rotation, with a view to give clinical lectures; and of courſe ſtates the matter in ſuch a way, as to give the preference ſtrongly to the mode of attendance of the Surgeons. Whatever reſemblance there may be between the two caſes, there can be no difficulty in pointing out an infinite difference between them. In the firſt place, the number of Medical Profeſſors in this Univerſity is but ſmall. There are but ſix ſuch Profeſſorſhips; and ſometimes two of theſe, that of Botany and Materia Medica, have been held by the ſame perſon. The Profeſſors of Phyſic, whatever their merit or demerit may be, have at leaſt been *ſelected*, by the patrons of the Univerſity, from among a great number of phyſicians, who would have been ambitious of that appointment. The patrons of the Univerſity have not even confined themſelves to a choice among the great number of phyſicians ſettled in Edinburgh. They have occaſionally given the appointment of Medical Profeſſor in this Univerſity to Phyſicians who had acquired reputation as Profeſſors in other univerſities.

Such was the caſe with Dr Cullen, Dr Black, and the preſent Dr Hope, who were well known, and highly eſteemed, in the Univerſity of Glaſgow; and with my Father, who had exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in teaching ſeveral branches of medicine in King's College Aberdeen, before they were appointed Profeſſors in the Univerſity of Edinburgh. From ſuch examples, and from the ſtill more ſtriking general fact of the high reputation which the medical ſchool of Edinburgh acquired in leſs than half a century,

tury, it may fairly be preſumed, that the patrons of it were equally honeſt and public ſpirited, in the choice which they made of the other Medical Profeſſors; and that upon the whole, they have been tolerably ſucceſsful in that matter; though no doubt Mr John Bell and his clients will think it right to make a great deduction from their credit in that reſpect, on account of their having twice beſtowed the appointment of Profeſſor on ſo ignorant and worthleſs a perſon as their very humble ſervant.

No body can ſuppoſe, that the patrons of the Univerſity ſhall always be directed by a kind of inſpiration, to make choice of men of ſuperior genius, as Profeſſors of Phyſic, or of any other ſcience in this Univerſity. Nor can any body ſuppoſe, that their appointment to a profeſſorſhip is to confer talents on a man which nature had denied him. But, though I am, by their appointment, one of the Medical Profeſſors myſelf, I muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, that they have had the ſagacity to contrive, and the honeſty to employ very faithfully, a ſimple but effectual expedient to prevent their Profeſſors from being either ignorant or lazy. The expedient is indeed ſo admirable and infallible, and withal ſo cheap, that it ought to be generally known. It conſiſts in giving us very ſmall, or no ſalaries; ſo that our emoluments, which for a long time paſt have been very conſiderable, ariſe almoſt entirely from the number of our pupils; and this again from our own diligence in learning and teaching the ſeveral branches of ſcience which we profeſs. I truſt Mr John Bell and his clients will know where I got the two following lines; and, whatever they may think of the poetry, will at leaſt acknowledge the truth of them.

Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctiſſimus eſſet,
Ipſe brevi reliquis doctior eſſe queat.

A Profeſſor of Phyſic in this Univerſity who does not ſeriouſly ſtudy and underſtand his own profeſſion, muſt, in the firſt place, become an object of contempt to his colleagues and to the ſtudents; and, in the next place, he muſt ſtarve; for the ſtudents will not attend his lectures, and the reaſon of this muſt be immediately and generally known.

On theſe principles, I ſhould conceive, *a priori*, that there muſt be an infinite difference between the attendance of the whole ſix Medical Profeſſors by rotation in the clinical wards, if this ſhould ever happen, and the attendance of twenty, thirty, or forty Surgeons by rotation in the ſurgery wards, juſt to acquire a little experience and dexterity in their profeſſion. But the well-known fact with reſpect to the attendance of the Medical Profeſſors in the clinical wards, puts this point in a much clearer and ſtronger light. Far from being eager to attend there, each in his turn, for the ſake of the improvement and experience which they might acquire by ſo doing, many of them could never be induced, either by the emoluments of that office, or their own acknowledged ſenſe of duty, to take any ſhare of the clinical lectures. Dr John Rutherford, the original Profeſſor of the Practice of Phyſic in this Univerſity, had the merit of beginning the *Medical* clinical lectures, and had them all to himſelf for ſeven or eight years; but as ſoon as he found that ſome of his colleagues choſe to undertake them, he withdrew from them: this was about fifty years ago. For ſome years afterwards, Dr Alexander Monro *primus*, Dr Whyte, and Dr Cullen, had the clinical lectures among them. From 1766 to 1773, all the time that my father was a Profeſſor in this Univerſity, he and Dr Cullen had the winter clinical lectures between them; during which time, I believe, not more than than one or two ſummer courſes of clinical lectures were given, and theſe by Dr Francis Home only. Soon after my father's death, Dr Cullen's family prevailed on him to withdraw from the clinical lectures;

perceiving clearly, that the labour of them, in addition to his other academical and profeſſional duties, was too much for him. Dr Plummer, Dr Alſton, the preſent Dr Alexander Monro ſenior, Dr Black, and, what is ſtill more remarkable, the late Dr John Hope, though he was a Phyſician to the Hoſpital, never would take any ſhare of the clinical lectures. When I was appointed Profeſſor of the Theory of Phyſic in 1776, not one of the four ſenior Profeſſors, Dr Monro, Dr Cullen, Dr Hope, and Dr Black, would take any ſhare of them: of courſe, they fell to the two junior Profeſſors, Dr Francis Home and myſelf; and on the ſame principle, we had them entirely between us two for fourteen years. I had the merit of prevailing on the preſent Dr Daniel Rutherford to take a ſhare of the clinical lectures; but that I found no eaſy matter to accompliſh; nor indeed did I get it accompliſhed, till he was appointed one of the ordinary Phyſicians of the Infirmary, which I think was not till about four years after he had been appointed Profeſſor of Phyſic and Botany: and I believe I have had at leaſt as much merit, and as much difficulty, in prevailing on Dr Rutherford to continue to take his ſhare of the clinical lectures; nor do I believe that I ſhould have ſucceeded in that object, and I certainly ſhould not have continued to take a ſhare of them myſelf, if the labour had not been made lighter, or at leaſt leſs frequent in its return, by our junior colleagues, Dr Duncan, Dr Hope, and Dr James Home, ſharing it with us. Though I have beſtowed much good advice upon him for that purpoſe, I have not yet prevailed on Dr Alexander Monro junior to take any ſhare of the clinical lectures. The plain truth is, that they are ſo ſevere a labour, both in point of attention and time, that all of us feel them very irkſome, even though our time of attendance is but three months; and as clinical lectures cannot be prepared beforehand, as thoſe on every other branch of phyſic may be, and ought to be, the inceſſant drudgery of preparing them from day to day, and the conſequent interruption of all other

other ſtudy, and much other buſineſs, even for ſo ſhort a time as three months, is often very inconvenient, and ſometimes quite intolerable.

N° 2. " For the performing of theſe duties, clinical wards are " appointed: this is the department *of your Hoſpital which we now* " *proceed to explain.*" This is wonderfully obliging in Mr John Bell; the more ſo, as it ſeems to be a very unneceſſary piece of trouble that he has taken. He has not mentioned *to whom* he means to *explain* it; but from his expreſſion of *your Hoſpital*, it ſhould ſeem that the explanation was intended for the benefit of the Managers: yet ſurely they could have no need of any ſuch explanation, any more than of being told their own Chriſtian and ſurnames, their ſtations or profeſſions, or their places of abode. Whatever the clinical lectures are, or were intended to be, muſt have been perfectly known to the Managers from firſt to laſt: and unleſs the Managers had known and intended ſuch things, they could not have been entitled, either ſeriouſly or ironically, to thoſe extravagant praiſes which Mr John Bell has laviſhed upon them, for permitting ſuch lectures on the caſes of the patients in the Hoſpital of which they had the care.

The Clinical Profeſſors, and their ſtudents, could have as little occaſion for any ſuch explanation; for they muſt have known perfectly every thing relating to the clinical lectures.

Moreover, the Managers, the Clinical Profeſſors, and the Students, muſt all have known perfectly many things relating to the clinical lectures, which are abſolutely inconſiſtent with the account or explanation that Mr John Bell has given of them.

Some of theſe things I ſhall beg leave to ſtate, from the moſt authentic documents, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, and of the public; for whoſe edification Mr John Bell's account of them ſeems plainly to have been intended.

The beginning and progreſs of the clinical lectures has been briefly as follows.

February 1. 1748. The Preſes of the meeting of the Managers (Dr John Clerk) informed them, that Dr Rutherford had intended to begin a courſe of clinical lectures to his own ſtudents, and that he deſigned to have applied to the Managers for the uſe of the operation-room in the Infirmary to give theſe lectures in, and to have begun them this winter; but that as he was determined to admit no ſtudent to attend them who had not a ticket for the Infirmary, leſt that might hurt the funds of the Hoſpital, and as he found, on enquiry, that ſome of the ſtudents who wiſhed to attend his clinical lectures had not ſuch tickets, he choſe to poſtpone giving thoſe lectures till next winter, to publiſh his advertiſement of them in October, and to make it a condition, that all who were to attend them ſhould have Infirmary-tickets. But the Managers, as ſoon as they were informed of theſe things, conſidering, that the year of attendance, by virtue of an Infirmary-ticket, (which at that time began at Michaelmas), was far advanced, and thinking it unreaſonable to deſire the ſtudents to take tickets at that time, and judging that thoſe lectures might be of very great ſervice to the ſtudents, and alſo of advantage to the Hoſpital, very handſomely and liberally recommended to Dr Rutherford to begin his clinical lectures immediately, agreed to give him the uſe of a room in the Infirmary for that purpoſe, and gave orders that all his ſtudents ſhould be admitted. This, I believe, was the only time that ſtudents were allowed to attend the clinical lectures who had not Infirmary-tickets.

The next mention of the clinical lectures that I can find in the minute-book of the Managers is of date 23d January 1749, and is part of the ſtatutes of the Royal Infirmary, which, after much conſideration, were at that time finally adopted and permanently eſtabliſhed. It is in theſe words: " The Profeſſors of Medicine in

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" the Univerſity may, *during their attendance*, give clinical lectures " to the licenſed ſtudents on the caſes of the patients of this Infir- " mary, at any hour, excepting the ordinary hour of viſiting, and " may have the peruſal of the ledger of the patients."

The next mention that I find of the clinical lectures in the minutes of the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, is of date 1ſt January 1750, and is in the following words. " The Managers alſo " conſidering that the money received laſt year from ſtudents for " tickets was L. 76, 12 s. Sterling more than what was received " in the year 1748, which probably was in a good meaſure owing " to the clinical lectures given by Dr Rutherford laſt year; they " likewiſe authoriſe and appoint the treaſurer to cauſe fit up im- " mediately a ward to accommodate patients proper for Dr Ruther- " ford to give his clinical lectures upon, which he may take in as " he wants them, theſe patients not exceeding ten in number, " during the three months in which he gives theſe lectures, the " expence of maintenance of which patients, the Managers hope, " will be much more than made up to the houſe by the additional " number of tickets which will be taken out merely on account of " theſe lectures."

It is worth while here to remark, that the additional ſum of L. 76, 12 s. received from ſtudents the firſt year that clinical lectures were given in the Hoſpital beyond what had been received the year before, ſmall as it may appear to us in itſelf, was by no means ſmall in compariſon of the whole money received for Infirmary-tickets; the whole amount of which for the year 1749 was but L. 172, 4 s.; the year before it had been but about L. 96: ſo that this branch of the revenue of the Hoſpital was at that time, and ſeemingly in conſequence of thoſe lectures, nearly doubled.

7th January 1751, the number of clinical patients was increaſed to fifteen.

6th

6th January 1752, the number of them was increaſed to twenty, which has ever ſince been conſidered as the regular number of the eſtabliſhment; but with a kind of *bona fide* latitude, well underſtood both by the Profeſſors and the Managers, that the average number of the patients for the whole time that the clinical wards are open ſhall not exceed that eſtabliſhment. But as it often happens, that for many weeks together the clinical wards are not half filled, ſo, on the other hand, they are occaſionally completely filled, in which ſtate they contain, without crowding, nine-and-twenty patients. On ſome extraordinary emergencies they have even been crowded, ſo as to contain two or three and thirty patients; but this, for many obvious reaſons, is never done without neceſſity, and never is long continued.

With reſpect to the privileges given to the Medical Profeſſors, for the purpoſe of giving clinical lectures, all that I find mentioned in the Managers minutes, and all I ever heard of or underſtood to be enjoyed by them, in addition to what is already quoted in the preceding page, is what follows.

" January 7th 1751, it was enacted and declared, That the Cli-
" nical Lectures to be given by the Profeſſors of Medicine, which,
" by the ſtatute as it is expreſſed, ſeem to be confined to the time
" of their attendance in courſe, ſhould be ſo extended as to be
" given at any time they ſhould find moſt beneficial to the
" Students, without the limitation aforeſaid."

This related to the ſyſtem which at that time prevailed, but which was ſoon afterwards aboliſhed, of all the Fellows of the Royal College of Phyſicians, including of courſe the Medical Profeſſors, attending by rotation in the Infirmary.

Though, by theſe regulations of the Managers, all the Profeſſors of Phyſic were permitted to give clinical lectures, it does not appear that any of them, except Dr Rutherford, choſe to avail themſelves of that privilege till winter 1756-7. " On the 27th

" November

" November 1756, Dr Alexander Monro *primus*, Dr Cullen, and " Dr White addreſſed a letter to the Managers, offering to aſſiſt in " the Clinical Lectures, if the Managers thought it could be of uſe " to the Infirmary, and ſhould think proper to give the neceſſaay " orders for that purpoſe." That winter accordingly the clinical lectures were given by four Profeſſors, in the following order: Dr Monro, Dr White, Dr Rutherford, and Dr Cullen: and that, I believe, was the laſt time that Dr Rutherford took any ſhare in them.

As I ſhould be very ſorry to be ſuſpected of ſuppreſſing the ſmalleſt particle of any privilege granted by the Managers to any one of the Clinical Profeſſors, I muſt mention a particular privilege that was granted to one of them individually and perſonally, namely Dr Rutherford, at their meeting 5th February 1750. " The Managers authoriſed Dr Rutherford to open the dead bodies " of any of his clinical patients who ſhould happen to die under " cure, as he ſhould think proper, without the neceſſity of applying " to the Managers for a warrant for that purpoſe, as is required " by the ſtatutes in the caſes of other patients who happen to die." But, to the beſt of my knowledge and belief, this privilege was never granted to any other Clinical Profeſſor; and I am certain at leaſt, that in the time of Dr Cullen and my father, as well as during my own long incumbency, we have been obliged, on ſuch occaſions, juſt like the ordinary Phyſicians, to apply for the regular permiſſion ſigned by two of the Managers.

After carefully examining the minutes of the Managers from the time when the clinical lectures were firſt mentioned in 1748, to the end of the year 1760, full four years after they were put on that footing on which they have ever ſince continued, I can find no veſtige of any other permiſſions, powers, or privileges granted by the Managers to the Profeſſors of Phyſic in conducting their practice in the Hoſpital and their clinical lectures; nothing like thoſe marvellous

marvellous and horrible powers which Mr John Bell ſays the Managers granted to the Profeſſors of Phyſic; and no appearance of the Managers ever having ſuppoſed that their own *delegated powers extended omnipotently over the lives of their fellow-creatures.*

N° 8. "*As for experiments in ſurgery, we know of none,*" &c. If ſo, and if *clinical* has that meaning which Mr John Bell has been pleaſed to give it, then clinical lectures on ſurgery, which Mr John Bell, and his friends, and clients, and profeſſional brethren, have ſtrongly, and, what is more wonderful, but certainly true, *unanimouſly* recommended, as not only uſeful, but highly important, which Mr Ruſſell has for many years been accuſtomed to give with great approbation, and for the giving of which he has lately been appointed a Regius Profeſſor, *muſt* be not only uſeleſs, but *impoſſible.* On the other hand, if *clinical* does not mean experimental in ſurgery, it is difficult to underſtand how it can have that horrible meaning in phyſic. Such difficulties Mr John Bell and his clients may conſider and ſolve at their leiſure. In the mean time, I beg leave to ſay, that, to my certain knowledge, every piece of practice, both in phyſic and ſurgery, is an *experiment*; nay, a precarious experiment. We have no abſolute certainty of the reſult being juſt what we wiſh: in ſome caſes the chance of ſucceſs is very great, perhaps a hundred or a thouſand to one, in favour of our patient: in other caſes it is very ſmall, perhaps ten, twenty, or forty to one againſt our patient. In ſome caſes, even in phyſic, the experiment is attended with danger: and in many caſes in ſurgery the danger of the practice or experiment, as in all thoſe operations which are called *capital*, is incomparably greater than it is in the practice of phyſic. But be the danger greater or leſs, it is the duty of the Phyſician or Surgeon to give his patient his beſt or only chance for recovery or relief. In numberleſs caſes the diſeaſe requiring ſuch practice or operation, if left to itſelf,

itſelf, would ſoon prove fatal; and in many others would continue, and probably increaſe for months or years, and at laſt prove fatal; but in the mean time, would keep the patient in torture, deprived of every enjoyment, and unfitted for every duty in life.

But perhaps Mr John Bell and his clients may chooſe to ſay, that by experiments they meant only new experiments; that is, the firſt trials of new modes of practice, new medicines, new preparations of old medicines, the firſt performing of newly propoſed operations, or of old operations in a new manner; and that therefore, by their aſſertion, that they knew of no experiments in their profeſſion, they meant only, that no new experiments, new operations, or improvements of old operations, or new practices of any kind, were ever to be attempted in ſurgery. Even in this limited and improper ſenſe of the term experiment, it may eaſily be ſhown, that their aſſertion, of there being no experiments in ſurgery, is not only groſsly erroneous, but almoſt abſurd; at leaſt ſo repugnant both to reaſon and to well known matter of fact, that it is *impoſſible* they ſhould have believed it. It is ſelf-evident, that every operation in ſurgery, and every peculiar mode of performing it, and indeed every piece of practice, either in ſurgery or phyſic, even thoſe that are now the moſt familiar, the moſt generally practiſed, the ſafeſt, the moſt ſalutary, and in every reſpect the beſt, were at one time perfectly new experiments. Unleſs ſuch experiments had been made, there never could have been either phyſic or ſurgery. After any number of the practices ſo introduced had become well eſtabliſhed, and ſo familiar as not to be called or thought experiments, it is equally ſelf-evident, that unleſs further new experiments had been tried, there could have been no improvements either in phyſic or in ſurgery. I do not believe that any individual of common ſenſe, however ſmall his knowledge of phyſic or ſurgery may be, can ſeriouſly wiſh that ſuch new experiments had been prevented at any time, either by legal prohibi-

tion, or by the ſentiments and manners of different nations; and therefore I diſtruſt what we are told of the laws and cuſtoms of the ancient Egyptians in this reſpect. It is ſaid, that by their laws their phyſicians were obliged to follow exactly the rules of practice laid down in their ſyſtem of phyſic, which it was pretended they derived from Hermes. If a phyſician followed theſe rules, he was regarded as blameleſs though his patient died; but if in his practice he deviated from them, and his patient died, he was put to death. I doubt whether the ingenuity of man could have contrived a more effectual bar to every attempt at improvement. Suppoſing, in compliment to Diodorus Siculus, whoſe authority I take to be none of the beſt, that the Egyptians had really adopted that moſt abſurd inſtitution, it is evidently impoſſible to wiſh that any other nation ſhould, at any period of its hiſtory, have done the ſame. We know pretty well what the ſtate of phyſic and ſurgery was in the time of Hippocrates, about two thouſand two hundred years ago: yet ſurely, with all due deference to the venerable father of phyſic, it may be ſaid, that by far the greater number of the moſt powerful medicines, the beſt operations, and the beſt practices of every kind, have been introduced, that is, have been new experiments, ſince his time. The ſame conſiderations are equally applicable and deciſive with reſpect to the ſtate of phyſic and ſurgery, every century, every year, every day, ſince the time of Hippocrates. In the courſe of the laſt century, in the latter half of it, in the laſt quarter of it, many great improvements have been introduced, both in phyſic and ſurgery; and unleſs phyſicians and ſurgeons become miraculouſly ſtupid and lazy, many improvements, both in phyſic and ſurgery, will be propoſed in the courſe of the preſent century, perhaps in the courſe of this year. The aſſertion, therefore, that there are no experiments in ſurgery, muſt imply, either that ſurgery is incapable of improvement, or that no improvements in it are to be permitted. And if Mr John Bell and

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his clients believed what he aſſerted and they ſanctioned, they muſt alſo have believed one or other of thoſe abſurdities: worſe and worſe, of all the improvements in ſurgery which the ſaid Mr John Bell is to contrive and propoſe, and with all his eloquence to recommend to his brethren and to the public, great and numerous as they muſt be, not one can ever be adopted, or even tried: and worſt of all, that moſt deſpicable and deteſtable work, which has the impudence to call itſelf " A Syſtem of Surgery, by Benjamin " Bell," in ſix ſquat, fat, vulgar-looking octavo volumes, the very ſight of any one of which is enough to make a man ſick, muſt remain the ſtandard-book in ſurgery, not for forty or fifty years only, which probably is all that the author himſelf, or any of his beſt friends, ever expected or thought poſſible, but to all eternity. Can Mr John Bell, or any of his friends, wiſh for this? or think of it without horror? or fail to ſee, that the only poſſible way to prevent that moſt dreadful of all calamities to ſurgery and to mankind, is to try new experiments in ſurgery, and to introduce new practices, no matter whether better or worſe than his, provided only they be different from thoſe which the ſaid Benjamin recommends, and many hundreds or thouſands of ſurgeons at this time employ.

Theſe ſelf-evident truths with reſpect to the abſolute neceſſity of new experiments in all ages, paſt, preſent, and future, firſt for the beginning, and afterwards for the improvement of ſurgery as well as of phyſic, Mr John Bell and his clients may have diſregarded; but this can have proceeded only from their never having attended to the ſubject: for if they will think of it but for one minute, I am convinced (notwithſtanding their moſt *liberal* and *candid* declaration, that " they *unequivocally approve*, in the prac- " tice of the medical profeſſion, a *latitude* which they *dare not admit* " *in their own)*" that not one of them, individually or collectively, will chooſe to diſpute any of thoſe propoſitions.

As to the truly experimental nature of all the oldeſt and commoneſt practices, either in phyſic or ſurgery, the uncertainty of the event, and even the danger of many of them; all theſe things are ſo generally known, and ſo well underſtood, and in moſt caſes ſo juſtly weighed by patients before they ſubmit to any capital operation in ſurgery, or even to ſome pieces of medical practice, that I could not *à priori* have ſuſpected that Mr John Bell, or any one of his clients, could be ignorant of them; and accordingly read with ſome aſtoniſhment, what he has aſſerted ſo roundly, and his clients have ſanctioned as uſual, in the paragraph at preſent under review, (No. 9.) " When a white ſwelling is plainly incurable, it " is no experiment to cut off the limb, and there is but one way in " which the operation can be performed!"

Merely cutting off a leg can hardly be called an experiment; for it is a matter of almoſt mechanical certainty, juſt like ſawing off the leg of a table or the bough of a tree, at leaſt I never heard of any patient who was a candidate for amputation, and fairly under the hands of a ſurgeon for that purpoſe, being diſappointed, with reſpect to getting rid of his leg or arm; as many thouſands have been whoſe ambition extended only to blood-letting or tooth-drawing. It is juſt after the leg is cut off that the *experiment begins.* The purpoſe of amputation, as of every other operation in ſurgery, and of almoſt every piece of chirurgical practice, I mean eſpecially all kinds of local applications or dreſſings, is to remove an impediment to the proceſs of nature in performing a cure. This is one of the moſt general and important differences between the practice of phyſic and that of ſurgery: the greater part of the phyſician's practice conſiſts in exciting, promoting, reſtraining, and ſometimes imitating by art, various operations of nature in the human body; many of which certainly have, and all of which have been ſuppoſed to have a ſalutary tendency; but in many caſes are almoſt or altogether a-wanting; in other caſes are too feeble and inſufficient; and

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in many cafes are too violent, ſo as to be attended with great and immediate danger. Every body knows, that neither phyſic nor ſurgery can do any good to a dead body; and moſt people will believe without much difficulty, that in a living body, from the failure of the powers of life, approaching very near to the ſtate of a dead one, both phyſic and ſurgery would be equally unavailing. It is no leſs certain, though not quite ſo obvious, that in numberleſs caſes the powers of nature alone, with no aſſiſtance, or worſe than none, from our art, accompliſh the cure; while the Doctor, like Belinda's Betty, " is praiſed for labours not his " own." The ſame powers, whoſe operations may ſometimes be a-wanting, or too feeble, at other times too violent, irregular, or wrong directed, are juſt as neceſſary for the ſucceſs of any chirurgical operation, as for that of any piece of medical practice. Not only an amputation, but the ſmalleſt inciſion that ever a ſurgeon makes, would be an incurable, and ſoon a mortal wound, were it not for the healing proceſs of nature. I know of no cure, either in phyſic or ſurgery, for the ſcratch of a pin; and as to ſuch a capital operation as cutting off a limb, I thought every ſurgeon had known that it was an experiment which neceſſarily implied many and great dangers. The patient may faint and die during the operation, or immediately after it, from loſs of blood, and partly perhaps even from pain; in a few hours after, the blood may burſt again from the veſſels, in ſuch quantity, that the patient ſhall die before any aſſiſtance can be procured, or in ſpite of the immediate aſſiſtance of the moſt ſkilful ſurgeon. The precautions uſually taken to prevent theſe dangers, ſhow abundantly that they are real and well known. Suppoſing all danger from loſs of blood to be prevented; violent or bad inflammation, followed by gangrene, may come upon the ſtump, and be fatal to the patient in leſs than a week; as in the caſe quoted from Mr John Bell's own book, I mean his Principles of Surgery, vol. 1. page 369, (page 275th of this

this Memorial); a locked jaw may take place in a few days, or a few weeks, and probably be fatal in three or four days: according to his own account of the horrid ſtate of the ſurgeons wards in this Hoſpital, twice every year, perhaps for many weeks each time, a patient, after ſuch an operation, would probably, or at ſome ſeaſons certainly, be attacked with hoſpital-gangrene, and have but a ſmall chance of eſcaping with his life. Suppoſing the patient to eſcape all theſe dangers, he yet may not recover; tedious and bad ſuppuration may take place, attended with hectic fever, which, after waſting him miſerably for ſeveral months, would at laſt prove fatal.

As to Mr John Bell's aſſertion, that *there is but one way in which the operation* (cutting off a limb) *can be performed*, it is altogether marvellous and incomprehenſible. Things muſt be come to a ſad paſs indeed with him, if he can quietly ſubmit to the diſgrace of cutting off a leg in the ſame bungling butcher-like manner that his dear nameſake Benjamin Bell, or Mr Ruſſell, or Mr Wardrope, &c. &c. would do. He is not the man of genius that I take him for, if he would not rather ſnip off the leg with a pair of crooked ſciſſars, or bite it off with his teeth, than ſubmit to the indignity of doing as they do, or offering ſuch violence to his conſcience, as to ſay that they did, or ever could do right. But there is no danger of his ever being reduced to ſuch a dire dilemma. I know three or four ways of cutting off a limb: and I dare ſay Mr John Bell knows, or at the worſt could eaſily contrive, as many more; and prove any one of them to be infinitely better than the beſt of thoſe at preſent in uſe. But he need not even take that trouble. Within my memory a new mode of cutting off legs was introduced, (or an old one revived, I am uncertain which), and ſtrongly recommended by an eminent ſurgeon, Mr Alanſon. It was called the Flap operation, or cutting with Flaps. I remember to have heard ſome diſputes about it: for as there were

Flappers,

Flappers, of courſe there muſt have been Anti-flappers: and as the diſpute began little more than twenty years ago, far from being ended as yet, it can ſcarce be arrived at full maturity and violence. Mr Benjamin Bell muſt be either a Flapper or an Anti-flapper: and I humbly conjecture, (for I do not know the fact), that if he is a Flapper, Mr John Bell will be a determined Anti-flapper; but that if Benjamin is an Anti-flapper, John will be a moſt ſtrenuous Flapper. But flap or no flap, he certainly may take his choice of ſeveral ways of cutting off a leg.

N° 10. *But it is an experiment, and a bold one too, when arſenic is given to cure that ſlight intermitting fever which bark and wine will poſitively cure.*

From the latter part of this ſentence I infer, that the intermitting fevers which Mr John Bell has met with in his practice, juſt like bachelors wives and maids children, have been always very tractable. But I preſume any phyſician who has had but a few years experience, can teſtify, that intermitting fevers, though in this country they are generally ſlight, and eaſily cured by bark and wine, or very often by bark without wine, are not always very eaſily cured by thoſe remedies, or by any others that I am acquainted with. So ſlight a circumſtance as an eaſt wind, which is no ſcarce commodity in this country at one ſeaſon of the year, will ſometimes baffle a phyſician, with all his bark and wine, for ſeveral weeks; nay, after his patients have been cured, as he ſuppoſed, poſitively and eaſily, the ſaid eaſt wind will ſometimes bring them back their intermittent fevers, more ſevere and more obſtinate than before. Even without any eaſt wind, various morbid conditions of the body itſelf will ſometimes fruſtrate the good effects of the bark, and perhaps render the adminiſtration of it difficult, if not quite impoſſible. Sometimes, but rarely I believe in this country, wine is found abſolutely pernicious; and

various

various evacuations, eſpecially blood-letting, and low diet, are ſalutary, and even neceſſary, in ſuch fevers.

I can gueſs why Mr John Bell ſhould mention the adminiſtration of *arſenic* in the paſſage under review; as it is well calculated to excite indignation and horror in the ignorant and vulgar, and cannot fail to be a noble ſubject for declamation to the malevolent, who probably never heard of arſenic but as a ſubſtance often employed with great ſucceſs to poiſon rats, and ſometimes to poiſon Chriſtians. But that Mr John Bell, or any of his clients, ſhould really think the adminiſtration of arſenic, as a cure for intermittent fevers, a *bold experiment*, appears to me quite incredible. None of them ſurely can be ignorant, that for many years, arſenic has, in many places, even of England, been very generally uſed with ſafety and ſucceſs for the cure of ſuch fevers. They ſurely muſt have known, that there was good reaſon to believe, that certain ſecret or quack medicines, eſpecially the taſteleſs ague-drop, which were found remarkably ſucceſsful in curing agues, and were in general uſe among the lower orders in ſome parts of England, owed their virtue to a ſmall portion of arſenic which they contained. They ſurely muſt have known, that about ſeventeen years ago an eminent phyſician, Dr Fowler of Stafford, publiſhed an account of his adminiſtration of arſenic in ſuch fevers, and of the great and uniform ſucceſs of it, when the medicine was given with due caution, and in proper, that is, very ſmall doſes. They ſurely know, that it has been employed ſince that time, openly and avowedly, by many practitioners, with equal ſucceſs. They ſurely know, that the proper doſes of arſenic, which may be given with perfect ſafety, and with almoſt the certainty of ſucceſs, in intermittent fevers, are juſt as well aſcertained as the proper doſes of opium, foxglove, mercury, antimony, or any other of our commoneſt and moſt powerful medicines. It would therefore be fooliſh, as well as unneceſſary, to tell them, but

for

for the edification of others, who muſt be intereſted in this matter, and are not in the ſecret, I think it right to mention the general facts or principles with reſpect to the adminiſtration of arſenic. It is perfectly aſcertained, that the twentieth part of a grain of it, taken twice or thrice a-day, is too ſmall a doſe to cure an intermittent fever, or even to produce any ſenſible effects on a grown perſon of ordinary ſtrength; and that the eighth part of a grain, taken twice or thrice a-day, is too ſtrong a doſe for ſuch a perſon, as it generally produces ſome diſorder in the ſtomach or bowels. Of courſe, the doſe for a grown perſon is within thoſe limits; generally from the tenth to the ſixteenth part of a grain, twice or thrice a-day. Thoſe very minute quantities of the medicine are eaſily obtained, not by weighing out and ſubdividing a ſingle grain of it, but in the ſame manner that minute quantities of other active medicines are uſually aſcertained, by diſſolving a ſmall but definite quantity of the medicine, in a large quantity of water, or ſome other liquid, the proportion of which to the arſenic diſſolved in it is preciſely known. The ſolution recommended by Dr Fowler, and moſt commonly employed, is of the ſtrength of ſixty-four grains (ſomewhat more than half a quarter of an ounce) to an Engliſh pint of liquid: that ſolution is given by drops, like the tincture of opium, and many other active medicines: eight drops contain the twentieth, twenty drops the eighth part of a grain of arſenic: and the common doſe of it is from ten to ſixteen drops for a grown perſon, and four or five for a young child. By ſuch doſes, ſome thouſands of patients every year are cured of intermitting fevers, without difficulty, or danger, or inconvenience, or bad conſequences of any kind; and, what to many of them is of much importance, without expence. The Peruvian bark is ſo coſtly a medicine, and the quantities of it required for curing intermitting fevers are often ſo great, amounting to many ounces, eſpecially if the patients cannot remove from

the unhealthy marſhy ſituations where they caught their fevers, that they cannot afford to be cured by it. Moreover, many patients, eſpecially children, cannot or will not take, or, if they do take, cannot retain the Peruvian bark: but the arſenic, in proper doſes, any perſon may take without diſguſt, nay, without knowing it. I therefore think it highly probable, that the arſenic will ſoon ſuperſede the uſe of the Peruvian bark as a cure for intermittent fevers, and very poſſibly may ſoon after be itſelf ſuperſeded by ſome other medicine of equal or greater efficacy; and leſs danger, if by any accident too much of it ſhould be taken. But in the mean time, with the cautions already mentioned, and perhaps ſome others, ſuch as the addition of certain ſubſtances, which are conceived, whether rightly or not I am uncertain, to correct its bad, or improve its good qualities, it muſt be regarded as on the ſame footing with antimony, opium, and many other powerful medicines. No body is afraid to give or to take opium as a medicine, though a very ſmall quantity of it would certainly be fatal. Not having as yet found a ſafe place to try ſuch dangerous experiments, I cannot tell exactly how few grains of it might kill a grown perſon, or how ſmall a part of a grain of it might kill a very young child: but I ſhrewdly ſuſpect, that much leſs than is commonly ſuppoſed might effectually do the buſineſs, either of the man or the child. Yet we apprehend no danger from giving one or two grains of it to a man, or the tenth or twentieth part of a grain of it to a child; and we find no difficulty in meaſuring thoſe ſmall doſes with ſufficient accuracy, by giving the infant one or two ſmall drops, and the adult thirty or forty drops, of the common tincture of opium.

As to antimony, it is well known that a very ſmall quantity of ſome of the preparations of it will produce the moſt violent effects on the ſtomach and bowels, effects not very different from thoſe of arſenic; and that many people have been poiſoned by it. It has been

been ſaid, (but, like all other important and ſome frivolous points in phyſic, this has been much diſputed), that the very name by which it has been known for ſome centuries paſt, was given to it in conſequence of a parcel of lazy monks having been poiſoned by it, which their friends and acquaintance thought a good joke, and therefore called the medicine *Antimonium*, wiſhing by this term to denote ſomething like Monks-bane. But it is certain at leaſt, that about 250 years ago it was formally prohibited and condemned as an arrant poiſon, not only by our moſt noble Faculty, but by the Parliament of Paris. Yet this very active and almoſt poiſonous drug, when properly prepared, and adminiſtered in very ſmall doſes, is a uſeful medicine, and has even become ſuch a favourite with many people, that they inſiſt upon taking and giving ſome of the preparations of it, eſpecially James's powder, on very ſlight occaſions, ſuch as a common cold; and often, as I think, from mere idleneſs, or becauſe they have nothing elſe to do.

Not only thoſe medicines, which, as they produce violent and ſometimes fatal effects, though given but in very ſmall quantity, may naturally be regarded as poiſons, but ſome medicines againſt which no ſuch objections can be urged, have often been the objects of great terror and ſtrong prejudices, both among phyſicians and their patients, and have ſometimes been made the ſubjects of the moſt virulent and malevolent declamation: for example, the Peruvian bark itſelf, againſt which, even in the cure of intermittent fevers, prejudices were long entertained, as ſtrong and as inveterate as any that Mr John Bell, or the keeneſt of his clients, can entertain or profeſs againſt arſenic in the cure of the ſame diſeaſes. Such prejudices againſt the bark, when judiciouſly employed, are now regarded with general and well-merited contempt: and ſo, no doubt, will the prejudices againſt the uſe of arſenic be, when it is not left to the raſh, indiſcriminate, and per-

haps knaviſh adminiſtration of quacks, but given openly, and with all neceſſary cautions, by regular practitioners.

The beſt proof and illuſtration that I can give, or indeed conceive, of this point, and one which, in juſtice to Mr John Bell, I think myſelf bound to mention, is, that the ſhort period of two years has produced a great change in the ſentiments of the ſaid John Bell with reſpect to all the three points in queſtion. In that time he has learned to think more reverently of intermittent fevers, to be leſs confident in the powers of the Peruvian bark, as poſitively (by which I preſume he meant certainly and univerſally) curing them, and has even learned to be leſs afraid of giving arſenic for that purpoſe. I cannot help thinking it a curious and inſtructive circumſtance, that he ſhould be the only perſon that ever yet propoſed to me to adminiſter arſenic to a patient. This patient laboured under an obſtinate intermittent fever, which had baffled all my ſkill, and reſiſted the powers of the bark and other remedies for ſome time, and had been equally uncivil to Mr John Bell, and the bark which he preſcribed, for a much longer time before I was called in. I preſume he will remember the caſe to which I allude, as it occurred ſo lately as the beginning of December laſt, and as there were in it the following very ſtriking particulars. The patient (whom for the preſent I ſhall call Dr H. M. L.) was a phyſician; he had ſuffered ſeverely by an intermittent fever in the Eaſt Indies, which had reſiſted the Peruvian bark there, and had been cured by arſenic. The patient himſelf wiſhed arſenic to be tried again, and ſuggeſted this to Mr John Bell, who propoſed it to me. I agreed to it moſt cheerfully, and preſcribed the arſenical ſolution accordingly, though the patient actually laboured under another diſeaſe, which many phyſicians would have thought, but which I did not think, ſufficient to forbid the uſe of the arſenic. He was cured by it perfectly, and without any ſenſible inconvenience, in four or five days, between the 7th and the 12th of December

ber 1802: he has felt no inconvenience or bad effects from it ſince; and ſo lately as the 24th of March 1803, I had the pleaſure of ſeeing him in at leaſt as good health as he enjoyed before that laſt attack of the intermittent fever, and that laſt uſe of the arſenic. I ſhould think it impoſſible to contrive a caſe better adapted to convince Mr John Bell, and all his clients, that the uſe of arſenic in ſome intermittent fevers, is neither a bold nor an unneceſſary experiment; and to ſatisfy the public, that when phyſicians do occaſionally employ ſuch a medicine as arſenic in a clinical or a common ward of an hoſpital, it is no more, and no worſe, than what they do, in private practice, to their beſt friends, or to themſelves, when the circumſtances of their diſeaſes ſeem to require it.

N° 14. *A diſtinct clinical hoſpital is a thing quite unknown, ſuch an undertaking never was attempted, &c.* In the proper ſenſe of the word clinical, as already explained, (page 379.), every charitable inſtitution for the relief and cure of the ſick poor, in which they are entertained and provided with beds, is a clinical hoſpital: a charitable inſtitution for the relief of the ſick poor which is not clinical, is called not an hoſpital, but a diſpenſary.

In the ſenſe of the word clinical in which it is uſed and explained by Mr John Bell, (16, 17.), *erected with the avowed deſign of receiving deſperate and forlorn caſes! of practiſing experiments! of teaching the profeſſion to young phyſicians! of proving the hypotheſes of medicine! and trying by experience the efficacy of drugs*—a clinical hoſpital is indeed a thing quite unknown, and I truſt ſhall ever continue ſo.

But an hoſpital erected with the avowed and ſole deſign of receiving *deſperate and forlorn caſes*, that is, in plain Engliſh, an hoſpital of *incurables*, would be a moſt charitable and uſeful inſtitution.

Such an hoſpital, to my certain knowledge, is much wanted in Edinburgh; and I preſume, without any minute enquiry, that it muſt

muſt be equally wanted in all great towns. I think it highly probable, that in proceſs of time ſuch an inſtitution will be eſtabliſhed here; and I mention with much pleaſure, in hopes that it may promote ſuch a plan, the benevolent and judicious bequeſt of a reſpectable old lady, Mrs MURRAY KEITH, lately deceaſed; who, anxious that her charities might not die with herſelf, by a letter addreſſed to me, bequeathed two thouſand pounds, for alleviating the diſtreſs of ſome of the moſt wretched of mankind, who being found incurable, (or, as ſhe expreſſed it, "after getting their ſen-"tence), are turned out of the Hoſpital to ſtarve, and for whom "there never has been any ſort of proviſion, though ſurely they "are the moſt miſerable of objects. Often has ſhe reflected on "this ſubject with grief, long before ſhe herſelf was amongſt "the number of incurables." This unhappily was her fate, by the moſt painful and incurable lameneſs, during the laſt fifteen years of her life. *Non ignara mali, miſeris ſuccurrere diſco*, evidently was the ſentiment which produced that benevolent bequeſt. Conſidering, very rightly, that any ſum which ſhe had to bequeath was too ſmall to build and endow a ſeparate hoſpital, ſhe directed the intereſt of the two thouſand pounds which ſhe bequeathed "to be beſtowed on the pooreſt and moſt helpleſs; but wiſhing, "where other claims were equal, the preference to be given to the "*lame*, who, by being confined within doors, are deprived of "free air and exerciſe, which, by raiſing the ſpirits, enable many "others, though as incurable, to bear their ſad fate with ſome "degree of reſolution," ſhe directed particularly, that none of the objects of her bounty "ſhould get above ten pounds yearly, "and not even ſo much, if not well recommended, and each per-"ſon to be informed, that the continuance of their allowance de-"pended entirely on their good behaviour, and be warned againſt "vice in general, but particularly againſt drinking, now become "ſo common amongſt both men and women, that few are entirely

"free

" free from it;" for which reaſon ſhe directed they ſhould be paid their allowance quarterly. She added, " It has juſt now oc-
" curred to her, that if any poor Negroes ſhould chance to be
" amongſt the incurables, not to let their colour be any objection,
" but rather caſt the balance in their favour, as they are friend-
" leſs, and without connections in this country, conſequently in
" greater danger of ſtarving than our own people."

This bequeſt, which was made about midſummer 1802, and became known by the death of Mrs Murray Keith in November laſt, is not the only one of the kind. Still more lately, another benevolent perſon, the late LADY RACHEL BRUCE, has bequeathed two hundred pounds for the ſame charitable purpoſe. I hope and truſt theſe good examples ſhall be followed by many others. But if this were done to ſuch an extent as to permit the building and endowing of a large hoſpital for the reception of ſuch deſperate and forlorn caſes, ſuch an hoſpital, for very obvious reaſons, ought to be ſeparate and diſtinct from this Infirmary: but whether diſtinct from it or connected with it, for example, by the Managers, in *direct violation* of the original plan, and of the charter of this Hoſpital, allotting certain wards of it for the reception of thoſe moſt miſerable objects, I am ſure that ſuch an hoſpital, or ſuch wards, would be moſt abſurdly unfit for the purpoſe of the Medical Profeſſors, and their clinical lectures.

For the honour of human nature in general, and of my own profeſſion in particular, I muſt believe that phyſicians will eaſily be found willing to give their profeſſional aſſiſtance for the relief of thoſe helpleſs and miſerable objects whom they can have no hopes of curing. But I do not believe that the Medical Profeſſors in this Univerſity, or any one of them, would ever be induced, either by motives of humanity or zeal for ſcience, to take the charge of thoſe wards for the ſake " of practiſing experiments, of teaching
" the profeſſion to young phyſicians, of proving the hypotheſes of
" medicine,

" medicine, of teaching not only the genuine practice, but the va-
" rious theories of medicine, and trying by experience the efficacy
" of drugs." I ſhould juſt as ſoon believe that a ſet of profeſſors and phyſicians ſhould be found, who would deliberately go away and hang themſelves, for the advancement of ſcience, and the good of mankind. At any rate, in either caſe, of ſuch clinical lectures, and ſuch hanging, I ſhould decline being of the party.

A moment's reflection muſt convince any perſon of the truth of what I have here ſtated, and the *impoſſibility* of the clinical lectures ever being what Mr John Bell and his clients have thought fit to repreſent them. Suppoſing, for the ſake of argument, that all of us who have ever engaged in clinical lectures, are as unprincipled, unfeeling, atrocious villains, as he and his friends wiſh to make us be thought, it cannot ſurely be ſuppoſed that we are alſo perfect idiots: it muſt rather be believed, in pure Chriſtian charity, that, like other phyſicians, we are true to our profit and our pride; both of which muſt be ſacrificed *for ever*, if we undertook the charge of ſuch patients and ſuch lectures. Every phyſician, however unfeeling or unprincipled he may be, muſt, even for his own ſake, wiſh to be ſucceſsful in his practice; for of all things this muſt tend moſt to procure him wealth and honour: and of all Phyſicians, thoſe who read clinical lectures on the caſes of their patients muſt be preſumed the moſt deſirous of being ſucceſsful; for, in addition to all other conſiderations of duty, honour, and intereſt, they have the very cogent reaſon of being obliged to give a minute account of all that they have done, of the reaſons of their practice, and the cauſes of its bad ſucceſs, when it proves unſucceſsful; every particular of which muſt be publicly known. The character of any Phyſicians who ſhould undertake the charge of ſuch clinical wards, and practiſe in them in the way that Mr John Bell has deſcribed, muſt ſoon be eſtabliſhed in a manner fatal to all their hopes of ſucceſs in their profeſſion; they, as well as their wards, would

ſoon

ſoon be objects of horror to the rich, as well as the poor: not only every patient admitted into their wards, but every patient who came under their care, would *think himſelf every way loſt, and thoſe who died would be thought to have ſuffered.*

In that ſenſe of the word *clinical*, in which it has generally been uſed in this medical ſchool, and I believe wherever our inſtitutions have been imitated, I mean as relating to practical lectures given by the Profeſſors on the caſes of the patients, a *clinical hoſpital* muſt always be a very rare inſtitution, for the plaineſt and beſt reaſons in the world. Such an hoſpital can very ſeldom be needed, becauſe a few ſmall wards in any common hoſpital muſt always be amply ſufficient for all the purpoſes of clinical lectures; and it is only in Univerſities in which there are great medical ſchools, or in great towns in which there are many young men breeding to phyſic and ſurgery, that ſuch lectures probably will be given. But I do not believe that, in this ſenſe of the word, a clinical hoſpital is a thing quite unknown; for, to the beſt of my information, ſuch a one was eſtabliſhed at Goettingen, originally and chiefly with a view to clinical lectures. But if every hoſpital in the world were made clinical, in that ſenſe, the patients in it, for reaſons fully explained already, (page 379. 84.), might be much the better, and could not be the worſe, for ſuch an innovation.

From what I have ſaid, it muſt be fully underſtood, that I do not mean that experiments, of the proper kind, are not to be tried in clinical wards, or clinical hoſpitals; but only that no other experiments are permitted to be tried in them, than ought to be tried in other wards, and other hoſpitals, and in private practice. I am ſure that no peculiar latitude in point of experiment ever was given by the Managers of this Hoſpital to the Clinical Profeſſors; and I never heard, nor do I believe, that any ſuch atrocious licence ever was given by the managers of any other hoſpital, to any phyſician or ſurgeon whom they permitted to read clinical lectures. Mr John Bell has ſaid very truly, (N° 19.), *that clinical wards were appointed,*

pointed, and lectures on the caſes of the patients were given in your Hoſpital, a thing unknown in London, or in other ſchools; but he has omitted to ſtate that ſuch lectures ſoon became known in London and in other ſchools. The example of this Hoſpital and this Univerſity has been followed in London, and in many other places; which ſeems to imply that the inſtitution in queſtion was generally and highly approved of.

He has alſo ſaid, with ſome, but not equal truth, (No. 18.), *Your motives for allowing this dangerous innovation were pure and open. No buſy ſearcher into the records of your Infirmary can prove on this occaſion a pactum illicitum! a preſent of money! an actual reward for the perverſion of the judgment! a logical or a real bribe! no, the Univerſity had nothing to give, and every thing to gain.* Certainly there was no bribe in the caſe; for an excellent and very obvious reaſon, that there was no occaſion for a bribe to induce the Managers to do what they knew to be right. This it is uſual for good men to do purely from a ſenſe of duty, or from the perſuaſion that it may do good to others. It is only to induce men to do what they know to be wrong, as in the caſe of the bargain made by the Managers with the Corporation of Surgeons in 1738, that bribes are neceſſary. The eſtabliſhment of clinical lectures was not a *dangerous* innovation, but juſt the contrary.

No. 15. *Though a laudable inſtitution, a clinical hoſpital muſt be ſhrouded from the public eye.* No. 31. Having mentioned a clinical ward, he adds, *It is the part of the Hoſpital to which the moſt hopeleſs and deſperate caſes are conveyed; the ſtage for perpetual experiments; the ſcene upon which the public eye is fixed; the department of your inſtitution where popular prejudices are moſt to be feared.* No. 20. *And books of experiments, under the undiſguiſed name of clinical experiments, were publiſhed by the Profeſſors of the Univerſity.*

So, that laudable inſtitution, a clinical hoſpital, muſt be ſhrouded from the public view. But that equally laudable inſtitution, the clinical wards in this Hoſpital, is the ſtage of perpetual experiments

ments, the ſcene upon which the public eye is fixed; and the experiments performed in them were publiſhed by the Profeſſors under the undiſguiſed name of clinical experiments. The inconſiſtency of the firſt with the ſecond and third of theſe aſſertions is complete and glaring: ſo they cannot all be true.

As to a clinical hoſpital, or a clinical ward in a common hoſpital, being ſhrouded from public view, ſuch an aſſertion needs no refutation, and hardly a contradiction. A clinical hoſpital or ward, in the ſenſe already explained as relating to lectures on the caſes of the patients, is preciſely that kind of hoſpital, or that part of a common one, which *cannot* be ſhrouded from public view; for it muſt be peculiarly expoſed to it, on account of the extraordinary number of ſtudents who frequent it, the attention which they give to the caſes of the patients, and the accurate journals which they keep of the progreſs of the caſes, and the reports and preſcriptions of the Phyſicians; which journals never were and never can be kept ſecret. Many hoſpitals, or particular wards of hoſpitals, may be concealed from public view, and for various reaſons, ought to be ſo; but with reſpect to clinical wards, this is neither deſirable nor poſſible.

I never underſtood that the clinical wards have the honour to be "*the ſcene on which the public eye is fixed.*" I ſuſpect rather that the public gives itſelf very little trouble about the clinical wards or the Clinical Profeſſors. The clinical wards are juſt as public as the common wards of the hoſpital, but not more ſo, except in as far as they are generally frequented by a greater number of ſtudents. The patients may leave thoſe wards, and often do ſo, when they pleaſe: their friends and relations have as eaſy acceſs to viſit them in the clinical as in any other wards of this Infirmary, and to invite them to go out, and to take them out, when they think fit. Of this liberty, it may well be believed that ſometimes a very improper uſe is made; ſome patients chooſing, and others being perſuaded by their friends, to go out, when they ſhould have ſtaid

in; that is, when they were but half cured, and had the faireſt proſpect of being completely cured, if they had perſevered in the uſe of the proper means; which proſpect was loſt by their going out of the hoſpital, and deſiſting from the uſe of the proper remedies. This, however, is but a partial evil, and the liberty in queſtion is, upon the whole, a great and general good. Indeed I firmly believe the benevolent purpoſe of the Royal Infirmary would be abſolutely fruſtrated, if patients were not allowed to leave it when they had a mind, or if their friends were not allowed to ſee them while they continued in it: for on ſuch terms few or none even of the moſt wretched would ſeek relief in ſuch an hoſpital.

The ſame conſiderations may be regarded as a complete refutation of what Mr John Bell has ſaid, (21.), that the profeſſors, "without the *invidious name of clinical hoſpital*, have a *ſafe* place "where they can *make experiments* as *dangerous*, &c. as they pleaſe." If the name of *clinical hoſpital* be invidious, which it ought not to be, the name of *clinical wards* muſt be at leaſt equally invidious, if not more ſo; on account of the contraſt between them and the common wards, and the daily opportunities that the patients would have of comparing their own ſituation, and the manner in which they are treated, in the different wards of the ſame hoſpital. This conſideration alone, to the beſt of my judgment, muſt render *impoſſible* that pretended peculiar and horrible deſtination and uſe of the clinical wards, which Mr John Bell has kindly taken ſo much pains to explain. (21.) *They have a ſafe place where they can make experiments as dangerous, &c. as they pleaſe. Safe* here muſt relate to the Profeſſors and Phyſicians; *dangerous*, to the unhappy patients who are the ſubjects at leaſt, if not the victims of ſuch experiments. The ſafety in queſtion can mean nothing but ſafety to the fortune and fame of the Phyſicians, perhaps alſo to their necks, if they were ſuch fools and knaves as to attempt to make ſuch experiments on the poor patients entruſted to their care. There can be no doubt,

doubt, that making ſuch dangerous experiments, without regard to any other conſideration but the general intereſts of ſcience, would be a very high miſdemeanour, and ſeverely puniſhable; and if ſome of the patients died under thoſe experiments, which muſt be ſuppoſed to happen, and indeed is implied in the very notion of dangerous experiments, it would become a very nice queſtion, and one which I am not Lawyer enough to decide, how near the conduct of the Phyſician approached to wilful murder. It certainly would be at leaſt what is called manſlaughter in England, and culpable homicide in Scotland: and though the practitioner might eſcape hanging for the firſt homicide of the kind, I do not know what might happen if he ſhould perſevere in the ſame conduct; but I ſhould ſuſpect that the inſurance of his neck would be reckoned much more than doubly hazardous.

In the mean time, let it be obſerved, that Mr John Bell and his clients have beſtowed the moſt extravagant encomiums on the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, on pretence of their having granted a permiſſion to the Clinical Profeſſors to do, in certain wards of this Hoſpital, ſuch things as no perſon of common ſenſe and humanity can think of without horror; ſuch things as would be criminal in the eye of the law; ſuch things as it is implied even in that pretended permiſſion, the ordinary Phyſicians of the Hoſpital were not allowed to do in the common wards; and ſuch things as no Phyſicians are allowed to do in their ordinary private practice. The Clinical Profeſſors ſurely could need no permiſſion from the Managers, and the Managers could never have thought of giving them, either expreſsly or by implication, a permiſſion to make ſuch experiments, whether dangerous or not, as it was their right and their duty to do in the ordinary exerciſe of their profeſſion: and ſuch a peculiar permiſſion or privilege to make dangerous experiments, no Phyſician could or would accept, and no ſet of managers of any hoſpital could give, or durſt offer, to any phyſician.

But

But let us conſider *a ſafe place for making dangerous experiments* on patients, as relating only to the ſafety of the Phyſicians fame and fortune; implying that the danger and the bad effects, eſpecially the fatal conſequences of ſuch experiments, are to be ſtrictly concealed. Even in this limited ſenſe of the expreſſion *a ſafe place*, I cannot ſuppoſe that Mr John Bell and his clients ſhould even for a moment have believed that the clinical wards of this Hoſpital are ſuch a place. They are frequented by a great number of ſtudents, generally from 100 to 150, or more. Every preſcription of the Phyſician, and every effect of it, and every change which occurs in the patient after it, may be known directly to all thoſe ſtudents, and in fact is known to moſt of them, and indirectly but very ſpeedily may be known to all their acquaintance, to every medical ſtudent at the Univerſity, and to many hundreds or thouſands of the inhabitants of this city. Any extraordinary, and eſpecially any dangerous experiment, certainly would be thus generally known, and would become a ſubject of very general animadverſion. If the reſult of the experiment were unfavourable, above all if it were fatal, it would become a ſubject of the ſevereſt cenſure among men of ſenſe, and very probably of popular indignation and clamour. Moreover, every preſcription of a Clinical Profeſſor ſtands on record in the clinical books kept by the clerks, and in the book of the apothecary who makes up the medicines: further, every ſtudent attending the clinical lectures has acceſs to the clinical books, and may tranſcribe from them whatever he pleaſes; and in fact by far the greater number of the ſtudents, either avail themſelves of this privilege, or by taking down directly from the Profeſſor's mouth his reports and preſcriptions at the time of the public viſits, have complete and regular journals of every preſcription and ſymptom, from the hour that the patient entered the ward till he was diſmiſſed from it. The more intereſting of theſe caſes are often minutely known to many other ſtudents, who even take

take the trouble to tranſcribe for their own uſe the whole journals of them. Laſtly, to my certain knowledge, ſeveral of theſe journals, I mean eſpecially of unfortunate caſes, have been printed and publiſhed, adorned and illuſtrated by very ample and inveterate commentaries, in which the editors have been pleaſed to revile the Profeſſors in the bittereſt terms of contempt and reproach. I myſelf have had the honour of being thus reviled in print for my practice in the clinical wards; and I know that ſome of my colleagues have fared almoſt as ill as I have done. I dare not venture to give any ſpecimens of this kind of abuſe, becauſe I am ſure they would not be believed, unleſs I were to quote the particular publications in which they appeared, and to give the names of the authors of them. This I will not do, as it might be ruinous to ſome men, who I truſt have lived long enough to become ſenſible both of the folly and the turpitude of their conduct: but if any gentleman wiſhes to ſee a ſpecimen of thoſe publications, I can eaſily gratify him, and convince him of the truth of what I have here ſtated. But in the mean time any perſon may form a pretty juſt notion of the candour and ſpirit of thoſe publications, and their authors, when I mention, that, to the beſt of my knowledge and belief, all of them were written by young men, whom, on examination, the Profeſſors had found groſsly ignorant, and had remitted to their ſtudies, and who endeavoured, by ſuch publications, at once to eſtabliſh their own character for talents and knowledge, and to take ſevere vengeance on the Profeſſors.

But the moſt minute criticiſm and rigorous animadverſion on the conduct of the Clinical Profeſſors are not confined to thoſe ſtudents, who, from being remitted to their ſtudies when examined, or from other cauſes, are irritated againſt the Profeſſors, and therefore eager to repreſent in the moſt unfavourable manner every thing that they ſay or do. Many of the ſtudents attending the clinical lectures, by very ample preliminary education, and even

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by having ſeen much practice, either in private, or in the army or navy, or in other hoſpitals, are really well qualified to judge both of the practice and the lectures of the Clinical Profeſſors: many more of the ſtudents think themſelves well qualified to do ſo; and are not the leſs ſevere and dogmatical in their cenſures, becauſe their qualifications to judge of what they ſee and hear are very ſlender, or perhaps imaginary: many of the ſtudents, tho' deficient neither in talents nor in knowledge, and not abounding in vanity, and not wiſhing to act uncandidly, yet come to attend the clinical lectures, with ſtrong prejudices in favour of opinions and practices widely different from thoſe which the Profeſſors adopt. It muſt appear to thoſe unacquainted with the ſubject an extravagant and almoſt unintelligible paradox to ſay, that even great and uniform ſucceſs on the part of the Profeſſor cannot always get the better of ſuch prejudices for or againſt certain practices and opinions. Yet this paradox is a ſerious truth. To explain what I mean by it, I muſt give a particular inſtance, which is too recent and too ſerious to be forgotten by thoſe who had the beſt means of knowing the particulars of it. In ſummer 1801, (as already mentioned, page 347), during the hotteſt weather, it happened unfortunately that I got into the clinical wards ſome patients very ill of the common contagious fever; ſome of them indeed ſo long ill, and ſo very ill, that I had ſcarce any hopes of ſaving them. Far beyond my expectations, every one of them recovered; chiefly, as I think, by the uniform and vigorous uſe of the *very cool* regimen, including not only great cleanlineſs, but the moſt thorough ventilation, and the frequent *waſhing of their bodies with cold water*. No fewer than eight of my ſtudents caught the fever; chiefly, as I believe, by their own obſtinacy in diſregarding my admonitions, and not believing that the fever was contagious. Two of the eight died. One of theſe was my own patient, from the evening of the fourth, till the morning of the 23d day of his fever, when he died, the circumſtances

cumſtances of it being ſuch as to baffle all my ſkill, and Dr Duncan's, during that time. The other of the two, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs which he had ſeen attending it, held my practice, and eſpecially the cold regimen, in ſuch deteſtation, that when he was taken ill of the fever, he would not allow me to be called in to ſee him, and of courſe took the very oppoſite method to that which he had ſeen me follow, keeping himſelf as warm as he could; till the morning of the fifth day, when he was found dead. I knew nothing of his illneſs, till one of his companions, with great horror, informed me of his death, and of the circumſtances which ſeemed to have haſtened it. This was indeed an extreme caſe; but nothing can better illuſtrate the unbounded freedom with which our ſtudents think for themſelves, and judge of the opinions and practices of their Profeſſors.

It is needleſs to point out how ſuch young men would think and ſpeak of the practice of a Phyſician, which conſiſted of trials of dangerous remedies, and of courſe was leſs ſucceſsful: Yet a precarious ſucceſs, with many failures, is all that the beſt of us can pretend to in moſt diſeaſes.

On the whole, far from believing that the clinical wards in this Hoſpital are a ſafe place for the Profeſſors to perform dangerous experiments, I firmly believe they are, for that purpoſe, the moſt dangerous place on the face of the earth. Moreover, I muſt beg leave to ſtate a kind of paradox, but which may eaſily be explained and eſtabliſhed as an important truth, I mean, that there neither is, nor *can be*, in any hoſpital, or in any private houſe, a ſafe place for a phyſician, ſtrictly and properly ſo called, to try dangerous experiments. By a phyſician, in this ſtrict ſenſe, I mean one who does not himſelf diſpenſe or furniſh medicines to his patients, but only gives his advice and preſcriptions, or *Recipes* as they are called. All theſe preſcriptions ought to remain, and generally do remain, on the apothecary's file, and even tranſcribed into his book; always ready to riſe in judgment againſt the phyſician the very firſt opportunity.

But any very extraordinary or dangerous preſcription of a phyſician will certainly be preſerved, and the effects of it will be marked with the moſt anxious care, and recorded never to be forgotten; for this good reaſon, that every apothecary, whether wiſe or fooliſh, muſt be ſuppoſed to know, that it is quite enough for him to have to anſwer for his own blunders and negligence, and for thoſe of the people whom he employs in his ſhop: and would certainly think his throat cut, if he were made in any degree anſwerable for the dangerous experiments tried by a phyſician: which infallibly would be the caſe, if he could not produce the phyſician's preſcription. Further, ſome apothecaries, for various reaſons good or bad, wiſh ſome phyſicians at the devil, and take every opportunity to do them every ill office in their power. Such apothecaries would certainly loſe no time in making generally known the ſuppoſed dangerous preſcriptions, and their real or ſuppoſed bad effects. Many apothecaries are very intelligent, honeſt, benevolent men; and as they know perfectly what medicines, and what doſes of them, are dangerous, if they got any dangerous preſcriptions to make up, would naturally ſuſpect ſome miſtake, and would immediately apply to the phyſician, or, if neceſſary, to the patient or his friends, to have the miſtake explained and rectified; which would ſoon cut ſhort the dangerous experiment. Some years ago I got from my own apothecary a leſſon on this point, which gratified me very much. Having occaſion to direct a *very ſtrong* medicine for a patient, a maniac, and not chooſing that his name ſhould appear on the paper, or even that any ſervant of the family ſhould go with it to an apothecary's, leſt the gentleman's unfortunate ſituation ſhould become known, I went myſelf, and put my preſcription, fairly written, into the hands of my own apothecary. He peruſed it repeatedly, with much gravity and attention, to my great edification; and at laſt began to expreſs his fears with reſpect to the operation of ſo

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ſtrong a medicine; but on my telling him there was a particular reaſon for it, and that many gentler medicines had been tried in vain with the patient for whom it was intended, he proceeded to make up the medicine faithfully, *ſecundum artem:* and in the courſe of a few weeks had occaſion to make it up more than once for the uſe of the ſame patient, whoſe diſeaſe, I believe, though not his name, he ſoon diſcovered. From that little ſpecimen I could eaſily judge what would be the fate of any preſcription for a violent or dangerous remedy, that came to the ſhop of an intelligent and honeſt apothecary; and could even gueſs what would probably be the fate of the phyſician who ſhould venture to give ſuch preſcriptions. I preſume it is generally underſtood, that the profeſſional knowledge and duty of an apothecary, with reſpect to caution as well as fidelity, in making up of medicines, affords an additional ſecurity to patients who truſt their health and lives to phyſicians, who give their preſcriptions only, without furniſhing medicines. But I know of no ſecurity, nor can I conceive any, to thoſe patients who truſt themſelves to the ſkill, and care, and fidelity, of practitioners, who furniſh medicines to the patients that employ them, and who have diſcovered, that the principles of moral conduct, even with reſpect to thoſe whoſe health and life are at ſtake, are different in phyſic from what they are in ſurgery; and who declare publicly and in print, that they unequivocally approve, in the practice of the medical profeſſion, a latitude which they dare not admit in ſurgery, and who fairly tell us, that in the practice of phyſic, the making profeſſed trial of every practice is not good for the ſick, but that, on the preſumption of general good, in this inſtance experiments are allowed which muſt be a partial evil: that is, muſt be hurtful or fatal to many of thoſe on whom they are tried.

It is eaſy to ſee why Mr John Bell and his clients were at pains to ſtate that flimſy and nugatory diſtinction, between the practice of phyſic and that of ſurgery, with reſpect to trying experiments

on patients. Their object plainly was to repreſent the practice of phyſic, eſpecially in the clinical wards of this Infirmary, as a ſeries of the moſt wanton and dangerous experiments, and to make the clinical wards, and the Profeſſors who practiſed in them, and the Managers of the Infirmary who permitted Clinical Lectures in this Hoſpital, objects of general indignation and horror; but by no means to repreſent the Surgeons, or their wards, in the ſame unfavourable light; and on the contrary, to ſtate a diſtinction, or pretended diſtinction, between ſurgery and phyſic, with reſpect to that important point which they repreſented ſo unfavourably as to phyſic. In this moſt laudable attempt they had unluckily forgotten, that the ſurgeon-apothecaries of Edinburgh practiſe ten or twenty times more as phyſicians than they do as ſurgeons. It is therefore highly neceſſary for their own ſake, and ſtill more for that of their patients, that they ſhould retract and diſavow that horrible ſentiment, with reſpect to the latitude of trying experiments in phyſic, which they do not admit in ſurgery; for, as long as they do hold that deteſtable principle, their patients, who expect from them not chirurgical but medical aſſiſtance, can have no ſecurity that they will not every day be made the ſubjects, and at laſt become the victims, of unneceſſary, long-continued, expenſive, and dangerous experiments. Every houſe, every bedchamber in Edinburgh, is in this reſpect a clinical ward to a ſurgeon-apothecary who holds that principle. It is, to uſe their own words, (21), *a ſafe place where they can make experiments as dangerous, as expenſive, as long-continued as they pleaſe!* They may be as long-continued and as expenſive as they pleaſe; nay, it is their intereſt to make them ſo, becauſe they are paid both for their attendance and their medicines. It is a ſafe place; for the experiments they try, and even the medicines they give, which either by themſelves or others whom they employ, they prepare, and make up, and adminiſter, can never be known,

known, unleſs they pleaſe. As little can their unfavourable or fatal effects be known; becauſe theſe cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the ſymptoms belonging to the diſeaſe, or the poſſible effects of common and ſafe medicines: Nay, when any experiment is likely to end fatally, all danger, that is, all danger to the practitioner who made the experiment, is effectually prevented, by the eaſy expedient of calling in a phyſician; whoſe preſence, on ſuch occaſions, even though his preſcriptions can do no good, never fails to *give great ſatisfaction, and to prevent reflections*, as we are frequently told when we are called in to patients who are juſt dying.

(20.) *Books of experiments, under the undiſguiſed name of* CLINICAL EXPERIMENTS, *were publiſhed by the Profeſſors of the Univerſity.* There is peculiar merit and delicacy in this happy alluſion, which can relate to no book but one; and that one a volume publiſhed more than twenty years ago by DR FRANCIS HOME, *Emeritus* Profeſſor of Phyſic and *Materia Medica* in this Univerſity, and who is at preſent, and has been for many years, one of the Ordinary Managers of this Infirmary. If Dr Home had done me the honour to aſk my advice or opinion about the title of his work, I ſhould certainly have endeavoured to diſſuade him from giving it the one which it bears, *Clinical Experiments, Hiſtories, and Diſſections.* I could at leaſt have pointed out to him, that ſuch a title might eaſily be miſunderſtood, and ſtill more eaſily miſrepreſented. I could have convinced him, that ſuch a ſimple title as Clinical Hiſtories, or Clinical Caſes, or Clinical Obſervations, would have fully conveyed his meaning; and that there was no occaſion, in the whole courſe of his book, to uſe the word Experiment, even once.

The fact, that his book was publiſhed with ſuch a title, and that almoſt every piece of practice mentioned in it is called an experiment, muſt give to every man of ſenſe and candour a very ſtrong

ſtrong preſumption, that thoſe experiments were at leaſt very innocent: that there was nothing in them of which the Author had reaſon to be aſhamed, or others afraid; nothing that could make either him or the clinical wards objects of jealouſy to the rich, and of horror to the poor.

But this preſumption *muſt* inſtantly have been converted into certainty in every perſon who peruſed the book, or even who read the table of its contents: from which it appears, that thoſe experiments are in general the common practice of phyſic: the moſt common and approved remedies, employed in thoſe diſeaſes, and in that manner, in which they have been moſt generally uſed, and are moſt ſtrongly recommended. To the beſt of my judgment, at leaſt nine out of ten of the medicines, whoſe effects he has recorded, are of this kind: and of the few medicines not in common uſe, and not even generally known in this country, which he employed, I do not believe there was one in any degree dangerous. Theſe things are ſo notorious and undeniable, that they ſoon put an end to the illiberal and malevolent obſervations which Dr Home's book, or rather the title of it, produced, when it was firſt publiſhed.

To give here an abridgment or abſtract of his whole book, a large octavo volume, would be tedious and unneceſſary: but in proof and illuſtration of what I have ſaid, I ſhall give a few ſpecimens of it.

The firſt ſection of it is entitled, " Experiments with regard to " the moſt proper time of giving the bark in intermittents." It had long been known, though for more than a century it had been keenly diſputed, that the Peruvian bark was a very ſafe medicine, and in general an eaſy, ſpeedy, and almoſt certain cure for intermittent fevers: but phyſicians, as became them, continued, and ſtill continue, to diſpute, whether its good effects were obtained moſt quickly and ſurely by giving a few, perhaps two or three,

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large doſes of it, as near as poſſible to the time when the fit was expected; or by giving many ſmaller doſes of it, beginning as ſoon as poſſible after the fit was over. There were ſtrong teſtimonials, from real or pretended experience, in favour of each of thoſe modes of practice, and againſt the other. Nor was it even allowed to remain purely a queſtion of fact, to be decided by frequent and careful experience, and impartial teſtimony. It was blended and confounded, to the great puzzling of many ſtudents, and of ſome practitioners, with various medical theories and reaſonings, about the cauſes of intermittent fevers, and the mode of operation of the bark, on the fluids, or on the ſolids, on the nerves, or on the ſtomach.

Dr Cullen, who, at the time to which I allude, when Dr Home was making and publiſhing thoſe experiments, was Profeſſor of the Practice of Phyſic in this Univerſity, declared ſtrongly in favour of giving the bark as near as poſſible to the time of the expected fit, (Firſt Lines, 232. 4.) This practice coincided beſt with his theory both of the diſeaſe, and of the mode of operation of the remedy. He had alſo got ſome well-atteſted caſes, in which it appeared, that one or two large doſes, ſuch as a quarter of an ounce, or even half an ounce, of the bark, taken within an hour of the time when the fit was expected, had completly cured the diſeaſe, after it had continued for a long time, and had reſiſted many ſmaller doſes of the bark taken during the whole of the interval between the fits.

On the other hand, many practitioners declared, that when the bark was given in large doſes juſt before the fit was expected, it often did no good, and ſometimes was thrown up by vomiting, ſo quickly, that it had ſcarce a chance of doing good: nay, ſome went ſo far as to ſay, that they had known the bark, when given in that manner, and well retained on the ſtomach, do harm inſtead of good, and make the ſubſequent fit more ſevere than any

of

of the preceding had been. It was alſo well known, or at leaſt verified by ſo many examples as hardly to admit of diſpute, that in whatever way the bark was adminiſtered, it did not, in general, cure or ſtop the intermittent at once, ſo as to prevent the return of even one other fit, and that often two, three, or four other fits took place, though the bark was adminiſtered faithfully during the intervals; but that theſe fits became gradually ſlighter, and leſs perfect, and at laſt ceaſed altogether. This common obſervation ſtrongly implied that ſome part at leaſt, if not the whole, of the good effects of the bark, depended upon its ſlow operation in the body, rather than on its immediate effect on the ſtomach.

Dr Home, naturally thinking that this was a queſtion of ſome importance, not only with a view to economy in diſpenſing the bark, but with a view to the eaſe, and comfort, and ſpeedy recovery of patients labouring under intermittent fevers, and being unable to decide among ſuch inconſiſtent teſtimonies and reaſonings, very innocently at leaſt, if not laudably, reſolved to adminiſter the bark to ſome patients in the one way, to ſome in the other, and carefully to obſerve the reſult. The number of theſe experiments, or of the patients on whom they were tried, was fourteen: and the reſult was ſtrongly in favour of giving it as ſoon as poſſible after the fit, and againſt giving it within two or three hours of the time when the fit is expected. In eight of the caſes, when given juſt before the fit was expected, it did not prevent the fit; in five caſes, when given juſt after the fit, it prevented the acceſſion of another. Whether Mr John Bell and his clients acquieſce in this concluſion or not, they muſt at leaſt acknowledge, that there was nothing dangerous or horrible in the experiment.

The ſecond ſection of Dr Home's book contains an account of his practice in the common continued fever; and the remedies which

which he uſed in it were almoſt all of them the common and moſt approved remedies employed by Phyſicians in that diſeaſe; ſuch as the Peruvian bark, bliſters, fomentation of the legs, camphor, tartar emetic, James's powder, and opiates. Two remedies were employed by him, in a few caſes, which were not in common uſe in this country; the firſt of theſe was the tincture of cantharides, in ſmall doſes, only twenty drops, twice or thrice a-day. This uſe of the medicine had been ſtrongly recommended, many years before, by Dr Hillary, an eminent Phyſician, who practiſed in the Weſt Indies, and who is well known by his book on the diſeaſes of Barbadoes. The ſame medicine, cantharides, had been in great repute, and general uſe, in the cure of ſuch fevers, for more than a hundred years, but applied in a different manner; externally, in the form of bliſtering plaſters. Many Phyſicians, however, had thought that the good effects, real or ſuppoſed, of ſuch plaſters, depended not upon their local operation on the ſkin, but on ſome portion of the cantharides abſorbed, and taken into the blood, and conveyed all over the body. In moſt of the caſes in which Dr Home gave it internally, it appeared evidently to do good; and in none of them did it any harm: all the patients recovered ſoon and eaſily.

The other uncommon medicine which Dr Home tried in the cure of continued fever, was the *Petaſites*, or Butter-bur, which had long ago been in ſome eſtimation, and had afterwards fallen, I believe very deſervedly, into neglect and contempt. But it had been again brought into uſe in Ruſſia, and extolled as very ſucceſsful in the cure of a malignant fever which prevailed in that country. Dr Home gave it to *one* patient in a fever, for three or four days. The fever diminiſhed during its uſe; but it did not appear that the medicine itſelf had any ſenſible effect; and there is reaſon to believe, that though a very innocent, it is a very inſignificant drug.

Perhaps it will be thought that I have ſelected the firſt two ſections of Dr Home's book, as being leſs exceptionable than the reſt of it: but any perſon who ſhall take the trouble to peruſe the whole volume, will be fully convinced that it is all of the ſame kind with the ſample which I have given of it. Nay, to cut ſhort all ſuch ſurmiſes, I ſhall mention here, without ſcruple, and without fear of giving offence to my venerable preceptor and colleague, the only two pieces of practice or experiments of his, that ever I heard of as being made the ſubject of reprehenſion. The firſt of theſe was the uſe of vipers (their fleſh, and the broth made of it) internally, as a cure for certain inveterate diſeaſes of the ſkin, which by ſome Phyſicians are called Herpes, by others Leproſy. Vipers had been employed in ſuch diſeaſes, and in many others, and highly extolled, by ſome of the greateſt of the ancient Phyſicians, and by many of the moderns. Yet though they ſtill kept their place in our diſpenſatories, and were really to be had at Apothecaries Hall in London, and in many apothecaries ſhops, they were very little uſed in practice. This ſtrongly implied that they had not in reality been found very uſeful: beſides, there was reaſon to ſuſpect that they had originally been introduced into practice in conſequence of ſome ſuperſtitious notions which were common to the Greeks and Romans; whether borrowed by them from the Jews, and their brazen ſerpent, or not, I am not antiquarian enough to determine. Still, however, it was poſſible that a remedy might be good, though originally introduced by ſuperſtition; and that a good remedy might have fallen into unmerited neglect. It was at leaſt certain, by very ample experience, that the fleſh of vipers, and the broth made of it, was a perfectly innocent and wholeſome food, juſt like the fleſh of eels, or that of tortoiſes, commonly called turtles. It had often been uſed as an article of diet, and conſidered as a very powerful reſtorative. Dr Home thought it worth while to try that mild and ſafe remedy, for the cure of an obſtinate diſeaſe, which

which generally requires, and ſometimes baffles, our moſt powerful, and what may be called our rougheſt medicines. He gave vipers to three patients, one of whom grew better under their uſe, but was not cured; ſeemingly becauſe no more vipers could be got for him. The ſecond in about a fortnight was almoſt cured; but being informed by ſome fooliſh perſon what ſhe was getting, would take no more of the medicine. The third of thoſe patients, a girl of fifteen, who had been covered from her infancy with a dry ſcaly eruption, was cured in a fortnight.

I am far from contending, that a few ſuch caſes are ſufficient to entitle vipers to reſume their former honourable ſtation in our diſpenſatories, from which they have moſt ignominiouſly been diſmiſſed within theſe few years, both by the London and the Edinburgh Colleges of Phyſicians: but I contend ſtrongly for the following propoſitions; that the vipers did no harm in the caſes in which they were given; that every practitioner of competent knowledge muſt have been ſure of this beforehand; and that the prejudices of the people in this country againſt ſuch an article of food or medicine, are groundleſs and abſurd; juſt like the horror which the Spaniards of South America, ſo lately as the time of Commodore Anſon, entertained againſt eating turtle. Moreover, though I ſhould not truſt to vipers for the cure of herpes or leproſy, I think it highly probable that ſome diſeaſes of the ſkin may be cured by them. For example, if a poor ſailor, by living on the common but unwholſome ſeafaring diet, had grown ſcorbutic and ſcaly, I dare ſay the fleſh and the broth of vipers, provided only he could get enough of it, would contribute greatly to his cure: and if a rich Alderman was grown mangy by over feeding, I dare ſay he might be cured by living for two or three months on viper broth and bread, as certainly as by living for the ſame time on chicken broth, or any other wholeſome low diet: and I have no doubt, that if all the Counts and Princes of the holy Roman

Empire, a hundred years ago, had got the mange, vipers would have been preſcribed for them all. Yet that ſimple and innocent piece of practice, merely becauſe it was uncommon in this country, was moſt abſurdly and unjuſtly made a ſubject of reproach to Dr Home.

The other piece of practice or experiment, which by ſome perſons, who ought to have known better, was ſpoken of in terms of reproach, to me always appeared in a very different light. I allude to his experiments with reſpect to the uſe of bliſters as a cure for continued fevers. For this purpoſe they had long been in general uſe; for it happened that Phyſicians of very different ſects or ſyſtems in phyſic had yet agreed, though for different reaſons, in uſing bliſters in continued fevers. I myſelf know of three totally different theories, all of which I believe to be erroneous, that made Phyſicians think it neceſſary to uſe them; I mean that of evacuating morbid matter, that of reſolving viſcid lentor of the blood, and that of relaxing or of taking off ſpaſm from the extreme veſſels on the ſurface of the body: and I believe there have been ſome other theories, or at leaſt ſome peculiar modifications of theſe, all favouring the ſame kind of practice; yet many Phyſicians, between twenty and forty years ago, had begun to diſtruſt it. The practice, however, was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that however much we diſtruſted it, few if any of us dared to omit it in urgent caſes. Dr Home, like many other Phyſicians about that time, diſtruſted the ſuppoſed goods effects of bliſters in fevers; but uſed them, in compliance with cuſtom and ſyſtem. He carefully obſerved their effects, and very candidly publiſhed the reſult of his obſervations. This reſult was very unfavourable: in ſeven experiments, that is, of ſeven patients labouring under continued fever, whoſe cure was truſted chiefly to bliſters, four died, one grew worſe under their uſe, and the other two were evidently no better for them. If this had been a trial of a new remedy, I ſhould have thought it highly

blameable:

blameable: but it was juſt the reverſe; it was the faithful employment of a common long-eſtabliſhed practice, one ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that if it had been omitted in thoſe caſes which ended fatally, this would have been conſidered as a bold or wanton experiment: nay, it would have been ſuppoſed, that the patients died for want of bliſtering. Dr Home had no peculiar merit or demerit in the practice which he followed; but very great merit in candidly making known its bad ſucceſs. If other Phyſicians had been as candid in giving an account of their bad ſucceſs with different remedies, or but half as ready to publiſh their unſucceſsful as their ſucceſsful caſes, whatever medicines they employed, it would have been well for their ſcience, and better for mankind.

Any perſon who is curious or diſtruſtful, may ſoon be convinced that theſe are my genuine ſentiments on the ſubject, and not aſſumed or profeſſed to ſerve a particular purpoſe on the preſent occaſion. In my *Conſpectus Medicinæ Theoreticæ*, publiſhed near twenty years ago, after mentioning pretty fully the practice of bliſtering in continued fevers, and the various theories or reaſons aſſigned for it, and my own diſtruſt, both of the practice and the theories in queſtion, I alluded to Dr Home's experiments on the ſubject in the following words, Parag. 1615. *Neque hic ſilentio præt erire fas eſt experimenta clari auctoris, infelicia quidem illa, ſed non eo minus utilia, quæque ipſe honesto et liberali animo palam indicavit. Hic auctor in experimenta de febrium remediis incumbens, ægros aliquot, posthabitis plerisque aliis auxiliis, veſicatoriis fere ſolis commiſit; febricitantium vero hoc modo tractatorum major pars periit; eorumque qui evaserant, nemo multum boni ab illo remedio percepit, plerique haud parum mali.*

To thoſe who are not of the medical profeſſion it may be neceſſary, but it will be eaſy, to explain the great importance of that candid publication of Dr Home, in which he acknowledged the bad ſucceſs that he had met with from the uſe of bliſters in the cure of continued fevers. Probably there were at that time, in this iſland

iſland alone, many hundreds of practitioners in the conſtant habit of employing bliſters in the cure of that diſeaſe, *bona fide* believing that they were one of the beſt remedies that could be uſed, and of ſuch importance, that they themſelves would have been highly culpable if they had not employed them. Many of thoſe practitioners might have occaſion to treat every year, twenty, fifty, or a hundred patients ill of fevers, and probably many hundreds of ſuch patients in the courſe of their lives; all of whom muſt by that practice have been made to ſuffer much pain and inconvenience, without any adequate benefit, or without any benefit at all; and ſeveral of them every year muſt have periſhed by having their cure truſted to that unavailing and often pernicious remedy, implying the omiſſion or neglect of other remedies, which might either have cured them ſpeedily, or, by alleviating their ſufferings, and breaking the force of the fever, might, in the courſe of a few days, have brought it to a favourable termination. Many of the beſt practitioners, with whom I have had an opportunity of converſing on this ſubject, agree with me, and with Dr Home, in rejecting bliſters as a general cure for continued fevers; though we admit that they are a valuable remedy in ſome other diſeaſes, even of the febrile kind; nay, that they may ſometimes relieve certain ſymptoms which occaſionally take place in continued fevers: but for this purpoſe I believe we have other remedies far preferable to bliſters. To the beſt of my knowledge and belief, not the thirtieth part of the number of bliſters is at this time employed in the cure of continued fevers that was employed in the cure of them thirty years ago; and I am convinced, that this eſſential improvement in that important ſubject of practice has been in a great meaſure owing to Dr Home's publication. Yet ſo tenacious are Phyſicians of their old opinions and practices, that ſeveral of them, to my knowledge, would never ſubmit to be ſet right on that point; and continued to preſcribe bliſters for the cure of continued fevers as long as they lived.

lived. Nay, I ſhrewdly ſuſpect that there are, even in this country, ſome Phyſicians who faithfully adhere to the old ſyſtem; chiefly, I believe, ſome of the older members of our faculty, and very few, if any, under the age of fifty. Such good orthodox adherents of the old ſchool will of courſe regard all that I have here ſaid of bliſters as a moſt damnable hereſy; and when I declare, as I can do with truth, that I have treated ſucceſsfully many hundreds of patients ill of continued fevers without the help of one bliſter, they will no more believe me, than I ſhould believe them, if they were to tell me, that they had cured five hundred ſuch patients by bliſters alone, without the help of any other remedy.

Such was the nature, and ſuch one of the effects, of that book, the title of which appeared ſo formidable, and to which Mr John Bell alludes, with ſuch confidence, in proof of the horrible nature and purpoſe of clinical lectures.

How then, it may reaſonably be aſked, can the particulars of ſuch innocent and common practice be called experiments; or what propriety or what joke was there in giving to the book in queſtion the title of clinical experiments? Even this may eaſily be explained; and I think it worth while to do ſo. In the firſt place, in every part of Natural Philoſophy, every change produced by human contrivance is called an experiment; which means no more than a contrived obſervation. An obſervation, as diſtinguiſhed from an experiment, is the remarking any event or change which occurred from natural cauſes, and without any human contrivance. We have obſervations on eclipſes, on the tides, on earthquakes, on eruptions of volcanos, and on the ſymptoms of diſeaſes: We have experiments in mechanical philoſophy, with balls of ivory or of clay, with magnets, and priſms, and electrical machines; in chemiſtry, with acids and alcalis, metals and gaſes, heat and cold; and in phyſic, with medicines and regimen. It would be well for mankind, and beſt of all for our moſt noble faculty, if our experiments

ments in phyſic were as certain and uniform as thoſe in chemiſtry, or in mechanical philoſophy: but as long as the human body is a living ſubject, implying the exiſtence and co-operation of another principle of change, infinitely variable in its condition, and at leaſt as important in its influence as the medicines which we preſcribe, that kind of certainty cannot be attained. Our practice is therefore neceſſarily not only a ſyſtem of experiments, but a conſtant ſeries of precarious experiments; ſome of which approach near to certainty, but others are far removed from it. The nearer they are brought to certainty the better for the patients, and for the practitioners, the teachers, and the learners of medicine. But if they were all brought to perfect certainty, they would equally be experiments, in the philoſophical ſenſe already explained; and ſuch experiments as every ſtudent ought to ſee, and attend to, in all their circumſtances; juſt as the ſtudents of chemiſtry and natural philoſophy ſee the experiments, even the moſt familiar and certain, in thoſe branches of ſcience. A ſtudent of phyſic would ſoon acquire more uſeful knowledge by a courſe of ſuch experiments, than could be extracted from ſome thouſands of our moſt learned volumes; as a ſtudent of natural philoſophy, who is not an incorrigible blockhead, will learn more of the laws of nature, with reſpect to matter and motion, from ſeeing experiments made with two balls of ivory, or two maſſes of ſoft clay, than could be diſtilled from all the writings of Ariſtotle, and of all the philoſophers that ſucceeded him till the time of Galileo.

But further, medicine, from the very nature of the ſubject on which it operates, and from the various purpoſes which thoſe who practiſe it have in view, may be regarded in ſeveral very different lights. It is a curious and intereſting branch of natural philoſophy; it is a trade or craft by which many perſons live; it is a practical art, the object of which is to cure diſeaſes, when this can be done; and when it cannot be done, at leaſt to alleviate the ſufferings

ferings of the patients. Every piece of medical practice may be regarded in relation to each of those views, which are in no degree inconsistent with one another; just as the practitioner, or any other man, may be considered, not as what he is in himself, but what he is in relation to others. The same man, in different relations, will be thought and called a father, a son, a husband, a brother, a friend or enemy, debtor or creditor, plaintiff or defendant. Even so, the most common piece of medical practice, considered in relation to the patient, may be an act of the greatest kindness that one human being can do to another, and, as such, will always be gratefully remembered by the person whom it saved from death, or relieved from pain and sickness, or to whom it restored those who were dearest to him. Such things are done times innumerable every day by practitioners, who have no view either to the advancement of their science, or to any pecuniary emolument to themselves. But much *good* medical practice is done, and many a learned prescription is written, by Physicians, who think no more, either of benevolence to their patients, or of the improvement of physic, than the apothecary does who makes up the medicines, or the undertaker who furnishes the coffins which are wanted, at the shop-price of their respective goods: it is the Doctor's trade, by which he must live, and he is honestly labouring in his vocation, thinking only of the one thing needful. The same pieces of practice, when the Physician has it in view carefully to observe and record the result, to arrange it with similar observations, and from many such compared together, to deduce general conclusions for the advancement of his science and the improvement of his art, are regarded as experiments; but surely they are experiments of the most innocent and laudable kind. Thousands of these experiments may escape the observation of the patients themselves, as well as of those who are about them, and most deeply interested in their welfare. Nothing violent, nothing un-

uſual may be attempted; no extraordinary or diſtreſſing ſymptoms may occur, the former ſymptoms of the diſeaſe may ſoon be relieved, or the diſeaſe may be completely cured. In other caſes, the ſymptoms may gradually grow worſe; the diſeaſe may run its natural courſe, and terminate fatally in the uſual manner; the practice employed, or experiments made, not availing the patient. But in many caſes, the practice or experiment which the Phyſician is obliged to try, in order to give the patient his beſt or only chance for life, muſt be of ſuch a nature as to excite anxiety and alarm. The remedy employed may be uncommon; it may be violent in appearance, or even in reality, from its immediate effects. Nay, it may be dangerous, and the Phyſician may even have intimated this to the patient or his friends. But as on ſuch occaſions the danger, in caſe of failure, is very great to the Phyſician himſelf, I mean in point of fame and fortune, this kind of practice or experiment is but ſeldom tried by regular Phyſicians of eſtabliſhed character; too ſeldom indeed, to the beſt of my judgment. The caſe I believe is different with the irregulars, who have every thing to gain, and nothing to loſe; who know, that whatever good they do, the world proclaimeth, and whatever ill they do, the earth covereth. Yet ſuch irregulars, though they kill many patients by their raſh and blundering practice, have certainly cured ſome in very unfavourable ſituations, by means well known to the regulars, but which, on account of their real or ſuppoſed danger, theſe were afraid to employ. It muſt even be acknowledged, however mortifying it may be to the pride of the regular faculty, that we owe to the quacks the knowledge and uſe of ſeveral of the moſt powerful medicines which we now generally employ; ſuch as opium, antimony, mercury, and many others. Still, however, the number of really uſeful medicines bears ſo ſmall a proportion to the vaſt multitude of uſeleſs drugs that from time to time have been introduced, and highly extolled,

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both by quacks and by regular Phyſicians, that the regular faculty have in general a ſtrong tendency to diſtruſt all new medicines, and of courſe a reluctance even to try them. It was long ago remarked by Bacon, and the obſervation is juſt as true at preſent as it was in his time, that regular Phyſicians are always more diſpoſed to expect advantage in medicine from the improvement of the general plan of practice in a diſeaſe, than from the extraordinary virtues of any particular medicine that may be propoſed; while thoſe not of the medical profeſſion, being ignorant or regardleſs of that kind of improvement in phyſic, are always credulous with reſpect to the good effects of every new medicine that they hear recommended. The reaſon of this difference is obvious; thoſe not of our profeſſion hear only of the few caſes in which ſuch medicines were or ſeemed to be ſucceſsful. Phyſicians know to their ſorrow the many caſes in which they do no good, and ſome in which they do harm; and are neceſſarily forced to doubt, whether, in the moſt favourable caſes, they had really done that good which both practitioners and patients had moſt confidently believed. Theſe things are ſo well and ſo generally known, that moſt perſons of competent judgment, if they had read this vindication of the Clinical Profeſſors, from the charge of trying wanton and dangerous experiments on their patients, without knowing what gave occaſion to it, would have regarded it as mere affectation: but the ſtrong paſſage quoted from Mr John Bell's pamphlet will effectually preclude all ſuch ſurmiſes on this occaſion.

There is yet another circumſtance in medical practice or experiments on patients which I muſt beg leave to ſtate in its true light, becauſe it is on all occaſions, but eſpecially in an hoſpital or in a clinical ward, eaſily miſrepreſented by the malevolent, and really miſunderſtood by thoſe who ſee only what is done, or perhaps but a part of it, and who know nothing of the reaſons for which ſuch things are done. To this kind of practice I alluded

in my former Memorial, (page 140.), in a few obſervations that I made on the neceſſary employment of our moſt powerful remedies, ſuch as are often required in the moſt urgent and dangerous caſes, in which the patient's chance for recovery is very ſmall, and in which there may be even ſome danger from the violent effects of the remedies themſelves. Nothing can be eaſier than to impute to the operation of thoſe ſtrong remedies all the unfavourable ſymptoms, or even the death of the patient, if ſuch things happen after their uſe. But candour and common ſenſe require that the moſt favourable conſtruction ſhould be put on the conduct of a Phyſician in thoſe trying and vexatious circumſtances. A very little reflection muſt convince every perſon of good ſenſe, that it is not alone the danger, real or ſuppoſed, of any piece of practice that ought to be conſidered, but the difference between that danger and the danger to which the patient was expoſed from his diſeaſe. I do not think the danger of any common medicine, or common mode of practice, if employed with but tolerable judgment, nearly ſo great as has often been ſaid, both by the vulgar, who are ſometimes pleaſed to fancy that Phyſicians had killed thoſe patients who died under their care, and by Phyſicians themſelves, who now and then have the goodneſs to pay that compliment to their brethren. The reſult of my own obſervation on the practice of phyſic has been a ſtrong conviction, that for one patient who is killed by the regular faculty by the uſe of violent and dangerous remedies, twenty, or perhaps a hundred, are allowed to die without getting that chance of recovery which ſuch powerful remedies would have given them. But ſuppoſing the violent remedies to which I allude to be as dangerous as ever was pretended, if the danger of the diſeaſe was ſtill greater and more urgent, or if the diſeaſe was almoſt certainly fatal unleſs ſuch remedies were employed, the uſe of them muſt be conſidered as leſſening the danger of the patient. It ought alſo to be conſidered, in another point

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of view, that the ſtate of the body in certain diſeaſes greatly leſſens the danger of ſome of our moſt violent remedies, at the ſame time that it makes thoſe remedies moſt peculiarly neceſſary. Nay, there are certain conditions of the body, in particular diſeaſes, that make it almoſt inſenſible to ſome of our moſt powerful medicines, or at leaſt make it neceſſary to adminiſter theſe medicines in quantities much larger than would be given, or could be required, in other diſeaſes; perhaps in ſuch quantities as would be certainly fatal to a ſtrong perſon in perfect health. I believe very violent fever, and certainly violent internal inflammation connected with high fever, while it requires large bleeding, at the ſame time enables the body to bear it with leſs danger and inconvenience than it could have done in health. In the courſe of ſuch a diſeaſe, a patient, who had fainted on the firſt and ſecond bleeding, though not very large, has been known to bear two or three ſubſequent bleedings, much larger, without fainting, and with great benefit. In dropſy it often happens, eſpecially when the head becomes affected, that ſtrong purges have no effect, though given in double or triple the common doſes; yet if given in ſtill larger doſes, they ſometimes anſwer perfectly well. In the locked jaw, and I underſtand the caſe to be the ſame in the hydrophobia, (from the bite of a mad dog), opium, in double or perhaps ten times its uſual doſe, may have little or no effect; yet if given in ſtill larger doſes, it may cure a painful and horrible diſeaſe, which otherwiſe would be fatal in two days. It can ſcarce be neceſſary to ſay, that in ſuch caſes no Phyſician in his ſenſes would preſcribe at once bleeding to ſuch an amount, or ſuch enormous quantities of ſtrong medicines, as may eventually be found neceſſary. It is to be preſumed, that all ſuch pieces of practice will be tried at firſt in moderation, though with vigour, and repeated and puſhed farther, as circumſtances may require. On this plan, I conceive, that even the poſitive danger from them muſt be but ſmall,

friends, and the other patients could not know: and very probably, even when they heard that his diſeaſe was a locked jaw, they would think of no other danger from it but that of the patient being gradually ſtarved to death; which I underſtand is the vulgar notion of the nature and danger of a locked jaw. It would have been in vain to tell them, that the ſevere practice of daſhing cold water on the body of the patient in that diſeaſe had been recommended by Hippocrates two thouſand two hundred years ago, had been neglected for two thouſand years or more, and had been revived, and again brought into repute, within theſe thirty years; and that, next to it, the adminiſtration of opium, in large doſes, frequently repeated, ſeemed the moſt powerful remedy; and that both together formed, if not the whole, at leaſt by far the greateſt part of the practice, which every Phyſician of competent knowledge would wiſh to have employed on himſelf, or on his beſt friends, if they were ill of the ſame diſeaſe; and that it would be my indiſpenſable duty to employ the ſame remedies, if poſſible with greater vigour, eſpecially the opium, in ſtill larger doſes, in any ſimilar caſe. To this hour I know not how I have eſcaped thoſe animadverſions, which I expected for my practice, and my bad ſucceſs in that caſe; unleſs it was, that the converſation of my pupils ſufficiently explained to the other patients the urgent danger of the diſeaſe, and the neceſſity of trying thoſe ſeemingly cruel and dangerous experiments.

On another occaſion, in ſummer 1797, I made a ſtill narrower eſcape from thoſe reproaches, or thoſe extravagant encomiums, which Mr John Bell and his clients have ſo liberally beſtowed on the Clinical Profeſſors. A young man came under my care in the clinical ward, who had been ill of a pleuriſy for ſeveral days. The ſymptoms were ſo uncommonly violent, that there could be no doubt about the nature of the diſeaſe, the urgent danger of it, and the only remedy, namely, large bleeding, that could give the patient

tient a chance for his life. The youngeſt of my pupils muſt have known all theſe things juſt as well as I did. The remedy certainly was not ſpared; my man underwent three large bleedings within twenty-four hours, but without the leaſt benefit; indeed he evidently grew worſe, and after the third bleeding my clerk came to tell me that he was much worſe, and ſeemed to be dying. This was no ſurpriſe to me, who had been aware of his great danger from the moment I ſaw him; but as I was not diſpoſed to give him up, without uſing every effort to ſave him, I went immediately to the Hoſpital, and finding his ſtrength ſtill entire, though the ſymptoms of his diſeaſe were dreadfully urgent, I inſtantly ordered another bleeding for him, and ſtaid to ſee it performed, and to obſerve the effect of it. It was the largeſt I ever witneſſed, and much larger than any bleeding that I ever preſcribed. I expected and wiſhed to have made him faint by that bleeding: for ſuch fainting, I am confident, often does good; but this, like every other point in phyſic, has been the ſubject of keen and endleſs diſpute. He bore the loſs of thirty-two ounces (a full Engliſh quart) of blood without fainting; and I durſt go no farther. Next day I found him worſe than ever, but ſtill, as I thought, able to bear another bleeding; which I conceived might give him ſome chance, though but a very ſmall one, for life. It was tried without delay, and I ſtaid to obſerve the effect of it. To enſure, as I thought, his fainting, I made him ſit erect when he was bled; and in that poſture he bore the loſs of more than twenty ounces of blood; making in all ninety-ſeven ounces, that were taken from him in three ſucceſſive days, but within forty-eight hours. At that time he was ſeized with hiccup, and I could obſerve ſome ſpaſms in his face; ſo that it might be ſaid, and in fact was ſaid, without exaggeration, that I had bled him into convulſions. One or two of my pupils, who were very attentive to all that paſſed, took fright, and ran out of the room, believing all was over, and that the man was inſtantly to die in my hands; and

I confeſs I had my own ſhare of uneaſineſs for ſome minutes; though, for a reaſon that I ſhall mention afterwards, I was not ſo much diſconcerted as my pupils were. On laying the man down on his bed, the ſpaſms went off, as ſoon and as eaſily as a fainting fit commonly does; and from that moment the patient was in a manner cured; the violent ſymptoms of his diſeaſe inſtantly ceaſed, and, without the help of any other remedy, he recovered as well as any patient I ever ſaw in that diſeaſe, and much faſter than ſuch patients commonly do. That was his good luck, and mine too; for if he had died at that time, it would have been a reproach to me as long as I lived, probably even to the Hoſpital in which I practiſed, and to the medical ſchool in which I have the honour to be a Profeſſor: for in two or three weeks, that is, by the time my man was diſmiſſed cured from the Hoſpital, the hiſtory of his caſe was known at Geneva; ſome gentlemen from that city having been my pupils at that time, and having, as I ſoon learned, regaled their friends at home with an account of a mode of practice very different from any that they had ever ſeen or heard of. I take it for granted, that they would have been at leaſt as communicative if my practice had been unſucceſsful. Such is the ſafety of the clinical wards as a place in which to try dangerous experiments. In that intereſting caſe, if I had ſtopped ſhort after the third bleeding, and allowed my man to die, which to the beſt of my judgment he muſt have done in two days, or perhaps in one, I ſhould have had the credit of doing all that could be done to ſave him. If I had ſtopped ſhort after the fourth large bleeding, and allowed him to die, which I am confident would have been his fate, it would have been a noble ſubject of diſpute, whether his diſeaſe or my exceſſive bleedings (ſeventy-five ounces in thirty hours) had killed him. But if he had died after the fifth bleeding, whether inſtantly or not, there could have been no diſpute at all that I had killed him by ſuch horrible bleeding. In lecturing on that caſe,

I wiſhed to tell my pupils, but durſt not, becauſe I had forgotten my authority, which I afterwards found in a biographical book, that Dr Radcliffe, the greateſt Phyſician in London about a hundred years ago, when ill of the ſame diſeaſe (pleuriſy) at the age of ſixty, was bled to the amount of a hundred ounces in one day; by which means he was cured, though he had been ſo ill that for ſome time he was abſolutely deſpaired of. Radcliffe was a brute, but he was not a fool; and certainly would neither have ſubmitted to ſuch practice, nor, what I preſume was the caſe, have directed it for himſelf, without knowing that it was neceſſary; and though not perhaps altogether ſafe, at leaſt not near ſo dangerous as the diſeaſe which it was intended to cure. It happened, however, that at that time I could explain to my pupils why I was not ſo much alarmed as ſome of them had been when my patient fell into ſpaſms, inſtead of fainting, on his laſt great bleeding. About a twelvemonth before, I had met with the ſame embarraſſing ſymptom repeatedly, in a young lady ill of the ſame diſeaſe. In her the ſymptoms were ſo violent and obſtinate, that five bleedings were required in the courſe of a week; every one of which, except the firſt, produced ſtrong ſpaſms inſtead of fainting. Though the abſolute quantity of blood taken from her was much leſs than that taken from my clinical patient, yet relatively to her bulk or weight it was more. Without that rough practice, or even with leſs of it, I firmly believe ſhe muſt have died; but by a favourable concurrence of circumſtances ſhe recovered perfectly. Her father, having been bred to phyſic, underſtood thoroughly the nature, the danger, and the method of cure of her diſeaſe; her mother was a woman of uncommon firmneſs and good ſenſe; and though both of them had in a manner given her up, they were well pleaſed that we (Mr Ruſſell and myſelf) ſhould do every thing that we thought could give her a chance for recovery.

It can ſcarce be neceſſary to ſay, that in ſimilar caſes I ſhould be ready, and think myſelf bound, to employ the ſame ſevere and ſeemingly dangerous practice which proved ſucceſsful in thoſe caſes: but even if it had been unſucceſsful in them, I muſt equally have employed it in ſimilar caſes, as being on the whole the beſt, or only ſucceſsful practice that I know of, in that diſeaſe, and ſome others of the ſame general nature. If my man had died, when I only intended to make him faint, by a large bleeding, it would not have deterred me from ſubmitting to the ſame practice myſelf; which but a few months after I was fain to do, twice in one day, and with great benefit, when I had the misfortune to be ill of the ſame diſeaſe. It would be folly to expect that in every caſe, and very doubtful whether in the very next caſe, in which I may have occaſion to try it, I ſhall be ſucceſsful by ſuch practice; yet in the clinical wards, and in private practice, equally, it will be my duty to try it.

What I have ſtated thus ſtrongly, and particularly, with reſpect to thoſe two extraordinary and very dangerous caſes, I muſt preſume, till I have evidence of the contrary, to be equally true with reſpect to the practice of the Clinical Profeſſors, in the more common and leſs dangerous caſes which every day come under their care: namely, that, to the beſt of their judgment, they have hitherto done, and will continue to do, what is beſt for the patients; whether this be the employing of new or of old, of ſevere or gentle, of ſafe or of dangerous remedies. This is unqueſtionably their duty to the patients in the firſt place, and in the ſecond place their duty to their pupils: for it is a propoſition too plain to admit either of doubt, or proof, or illuſtration, that whatever is beſt for the patients, is alſo beſt for the ſtudents to ſee and learn; and, I may add, is moſt for the eaſe, the honour, and the advantage, of the Profeſſors themſelves.

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The two ſtriking caſes which I have ſtated are not given as a fair ſample of the common practice, either by myſelf or my colleagues, in the clinical wards, but quite the contrary; as the two, of all that I could remember, which might moſt naturally have been miſunderſtood, or moſt eaſily miſrepreſented, and quoted as inſtances of the moſt wanton, cruel, and dangerous experiments. In this horrible light I dare ſay they will ſtill appear to many people, who have no notion, either of the violence and danger of ſome diſeaſes, or of what the human body can do or ſuffer. Thoſe happy patients, who have never felt ſuch diſeaſes or ſuch practice, but who are every day ſuffering the pangs, that is, paying the regulated price, of lazineſs, luxury, pride, and riches, and who are anxious only to ſettle whether they ſhall be bilious or nervous, whether they ſhall have the gout or the liver, whether they ſhall go to Cheltenham or to Tunbridge, to Bath or to Margate, muſt regard ſuch practice with peculiar horror; dreading leſt ſome bloody-minded phyſician ſhould employ it on their own perſons. But they need not be afraid: even a ſucking Doctor would not think of killing the gooſe that laid him golden eggs day by day; and they may be aſſured, that, as long as there remains in an apothecary's ſhop one nauſeous uſeleſs drug, no Phyſician will preſcribe for them a remedy that might endanger ſuch precious lives; lives which, whatever they may be in other reſpects, and to other people, are ineſtimable to our moſt noble Faculty, and will always be cheriſhed with care, and lengthened, if poſſible, to the age of the antediluvian patriarchs.

The rougher and ſeemingly dangerous practice, of which I have given ſuch examples, is never employed by any of us without reluctance, or without the moſt urgent neceſſity; and in private practice, eſpecially among patients in affluent circumſtances, it is ſeldom employed without the authority of a conſultation; which Phyſicians, in ſuch caſes, are glad to propoſe, at leaſt as much for their own ſake as for that of their patients. Even in judging of the

the danger of certain pieces of medical practice, and of the ſuppoſed demerit of the Phyſician who preſcribed them in caſes which terminated unfavourably, thoſe who are not of the medical profeſſion almoſt always fall into many miſtakes. They very generally have no notion of the danger of the diſeaſe for which they are preſcribed; in many caſes they are not aware, and when told will hardly believe, that they or their friends have got ſuch a diſeaſe: they ſuppoſe many remedies to be highly dangerous, or at leaſt ſevere, which are not ſo in the leaſt, with the ſame unthinking confidence that they believe many circumſtances in their common way of life to be perfectly ſafe, which every Phyſician knows to be highly dangerous. A blooming girl of eighteen can conceive no danger in a ſlight cough, and a ſtill ſlighter pain in her ſide; which a Phyſician may almoſt certainly know to be the firſt ſymptoms or threatenings of a conſumption, that in ſpite of every effort of medical ſkill will probably be fatal in leſs than a twelvemonth. A bliſter or a bleeding propoſed by a Phyſician in ſuch a caſe, eſpecially if the patient fainted on bleeding, would be regarded by her, and perhaps by her mother alſo, as very rough and cruel, if not even dangerous practice: and very probably, inſtead of following ſuch rational and ſafe advice, Miſs, with her Mamma's approbation, would go to a ball, and dance from midnight till eight in the morning; never once dreaming that ſhe was dancing into her coffin. A guzzling Alderman, on the verge of apoplexy, would be terrified at the propoſal of a large bleeding, or even of a good purge, and would think himſelf in the moſt imminent danger of being ſtarved to death, if he were adviſed to content himſelf with little more than double the quantity of nouriſhment that is found ſufficient to ſupport a ſturdy ploughman in health and ſtrength. But ſuch an Alderman can conceive no danger in a good dinner, and a bottle of wine after it; which every Phyſician might know to be ſo dangerous to him, that before his dinner could be half digeſted, or even his

bottle

bottle of wine finiſhed, the worthy magiſtrate probably might be in another world.

(22.). *Without a new inſtitution to ſupport, they receive the fees of the numerous pupils.* This paſſage deſerves peculiar attention and praiſe, for there is ſomething very remarkable and meritorious in it. It is literally true. Perhaps there may be a few more paſſages in Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me that have the ſame kind of merit, or at leaſt ſome degree of it; but *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto.* Thoſe *truiſms*, if there be any ſuch in his pamphlet, are ſo loſt in the blaze of his ſplendid poetical and rhetorical fictions, that I cannot diſcover them; elſe I ſhould have had great pleaſure in pointing them out, and acknowledging the juſtneſs and ſeverity of them all, as I do of that one at preſent under review. That deadly ſin of pocketing our fees is indeed the ſin that moſt eaſily beſets us; none of us are free from it, or ever were ſuppoſed to be ſo. Many good and wiſe men conſider it as abſolutely eſſential to the notion of a Phyſician; juſt as extenſion in one dimenſion is eſſential to a line, in two to a ſurface, in three to a ſolid. Certain it is, that though many a Phyſician may be found without a head, or brains, or heart, or bowels, no Phyſician was ever yet known that did not take his fees. If ſuch a monſter ſhould appear on the face of the earth, of which I truſt there is little danger, he would not be permitted to live; for all his brethren would inſiſt on preſcribing for him, even without a fee. As to the receiving of fees from ſtudents who attend the clinical lectures, I myſelf have been a moſt miſerable ſinner; having received to my own ſhare near L. 3000 in that way, all which I pocketed without remorſe; never once ſuſpecting that it was the price of blood, and even finding much pleaſure in the thought, that the Royal Infirmary muſt have received within the ſame period of twenty-ſeven years at leaſt *three*

times

times as much from the ſame ſtudents. During the laſt thirteen years, I have been one of four or five Profeſſors who took a ſhare in the clinical lectures; but during the fourteen years preceding, I was one of two Profeſſors who had them between us; and during the whole ſeven and twenty years, I am convinced not one ſtudent attended the clinical lectures without paying as much to the Infirmary as he did to the Profeſſors. In this way I conceive that the clinical lectures always have added conſiderably to the funds of the Houſe: which Mr John Bell, in the paſſage under review, is pleaſed to ſay they do not; and gives his reaſon in theſe words: " *Since thoſe pupils pay to the Infirmary no more than the* " *ordinary fees.*" This is true; but the inference from it is erroneous: for every year many pupils take tickets for the Infirmary, purely on account of the clinical lectures: many for this reaſon take tickets two or three years, who but for the clinical lectures would have attended the Infirmary only one year, or perhaps would not have attended it at all; as having ſeen abundance of hoſpital practice before they came to Edinburgh. I ſhould gueſs it would be the ſame to the funds of the Hoſpital, whether the money that comes to them proceed from a certain number of ſtudents paying a double fee, or from double the number of ſtudents paying the common fee to the Infirmary; and the latter mode is infinitely better for the ſtudents and for the public.

(23) *They* (the Clinical Profeſſors) *have poſſeſſion of wards larger and better appointed than thoſe allotted to our ſurgical department.* Something of the ſame kind is ſtated (No. 7.) in theſe words: " *You* " *allotted them alſo wards ſuperior in every reſpect to thoſe of the Sur-* " *geons.*" From theſe conſiderations having been ſtated ſo ſtrongly, and repeatedly, we may infer, that Mr John Bell and his clients thought them of great importance, and that they wiſhed peculiarly to ſtake their veracity on the truth of what they aſſerted. But their uſual bad luck with reſpect to matters of fact has attend-

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ed them even on this point. As to the ſuperiority and better appointment of the clinical wards, when compared with thoſe of the Surgeons, I know nothing of it; and cannot even gueſs what is meant by it, unleſs it be ſomething inconſiſtent with the more important propoſition aſſerted, namely, the clinical being larger than the Surgeons wards. The clinical are in fact much ſmaller than the Surgeons wards: and as each of them has, at each of its four corners, like the other wards in the Hoſpital, a room capable of holding conveniently two beds, thoſe private rooms neceſſarily bear a greater proportion to the whole of the clinical wards, than can take place in the larger wards of this Infirmary. As to the important aſſertion, that the clinical are larger than the Surgeons wards, it is wonderful how any individual, or any ſet of men, ſhould have ſtaked their veracity on ſuch a point. The clinical wards contain, without crowding, two and thirty beds; one half of which are in the private rooms already mentioned: but one of thoſe rooms in the mens ward, and one bed in the womens ward, muſt be deducted for the accommodation of the two nurſes: there remain, then, without crowding, nine and twenty beds for patients. The largeſt of the Surgeons wards for men contains, without crowding, twenty-eight beds; the ſmalleſt of their mens wards, being exactly of the ſame ſize with one of the clinical wards, and bounded by the ſame walls, which are carried from the foundation to the roof of the Hoſpital, contains ſixteen beds: one room capable of containing two beds, muſt be deducted from each ward for the accommodation of the nurſes; but without crowding, thoſe two wards can accommodate forty men patients. The Surgeons ward for women contains nineteen beds; one of which being deducted for the uſe of the nurſe, there will remain eighteen beds for patients. This number added to forty makes fifty-eight; ſo that on the whole, to the beſt of my arithmetic, the Surgeons wards, far from being ſmaller than the clinical, are juſt *twice as large*. The ſmaller of the

two mens wards, which the Surgeons have at preſent, they got within theſe twenty years: but even the other two great wards, one for men and the other for women, which they have had ever ſince their patients were ſeparated from thoſe of the Phyſicians, are larger than the clinical wards, in the proportion of *three* to *two*. But, for the ſatisfaction and the honour of Mr John Bell and his clients, in whoſe aſſertion there certainly can be no *miſtake*, I think all thoſe very intereſting and difficult arithmetical queſtions ſhould be referred to a profeſſed accountant.

Out of many paſſages in the ſection of Mr John Bell's pamphlet at preſent under review, which are evidently intended to excite indignation and horror againſt the Clinical Profeſſors and their practice, I ſhall ſelect a few of the moſt ſplendid, and ſuch as may be diſmiſſed with a very ſhort commentary. By way of contraſt to the frequent and multitudinous conſultations of Surgeons, on which I had taken the liberty to make a few dry remarks in my former Memorial, Mr John Bell tells us, (N° 29.), *but in the clinical ward the Phyſician in attendance is always alone, and unaſſiſted; his office is indeed of ſuch a nature as will not allow of advice or aſſiſtance.* It is very true that the Profeſſors viſit their patients in the clinical wards, and preſcribe for them, unaſſiſted and unattended by any other Phyſician; juſt as the ordinary Phyſicians of this and every other hoſpital viſit their hoſpital-patients, and as all Phyſicians do with their patients in private practice, in at leaſt nineteen caſes out of twenty. Surely no perſon, however affluent his circumſtances might be, would chooſe to be plagued with a conſultation of Phyſicians, unleſs on the ſuppoſition of there being ſome peculiar doubt, or difficulty, or danger, in his caſe: for no man in his right wits would ever think of intruſting his health or life to a Phyſician whom he did not believe to have at leaſt competent knowledge of his profeſſion. To the beſt of my knowledge, by far the greater number of conſultations of our Faculty are called at the requeſt or ſuggeſtion of the Phyſician who firſt had the

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care of the patient, and found his caſe peculiarly difficult and dangerous. The ſituation of patients in the clinical wards is certainly *not worſe*, in any reſpect, than that of the ſame patients would be, if they were viſited and preſcribed for by the ſame Phyſician ſingly, in their own houſes; which I preſume moſt of them would conſider as a very great happineſs. But in truth their ſituation is *better* in thoſe wards than very probably it would be if they were viſited by the ſame Phyſician in their own houſes, not only in reſpect of proper accommodation, care, diet, and medicines, but even in reſpect of the attention and medical ſkill of the Phyſician; whoſe office of Clinical Profeſſor neceſſarily obliges him to the utmoſt efforts of his attention, in ſtudying their caſes, and applying remedies to their diſeaſes. It is difficult to conceive what Mr John Bell means by ſaying, that the Clinical Profeſſor's *office is indeed of ſuch a nature as will not allow of advice or aſſiſtance.* He certainly may receive, and often does receive, advice and aſſiſtance, from his profeſſional brethren, in the treatment of his clinical patients, juſt as eaſily and effectually as he or any other Phyſician can do, with reſpect to his patients in private practice. There is even peculiar facility in getting that aſſiſtance, from the opportunities which occur every day, by the ordinary Phyſicians of the Hoſpital and the Clinical Profeſſors viſiting their reſpective wards at the ſame time. I never took the trouble to aſk my colleagues, and never chanced to hear, how they managed this matter; but I know well how eaſily I managed it myſelf. In caſes of doubt or difficulty, I have often got the late Dr John Hope, and Dr Hamilton, the ordinary Phyſicians of the Hoſpital, during the firſt twelve years of my attendance as Clinical Profeſſor, and even Dr Rutherford, (though I had been accuſtomed to attend in the Infirmary more than a dozen years before he came into it as one of the ordinary Phyſicians) to viſit my patients in the clinical wards along with me, and to give me their opinion

and advice with reſpect to their caſes. Theſe conſultations, for a very obvious reaſon, were almoſt always either juſt before or juſt after my regular public viſit; and very often were in the preſence of ten, twenty, or fifty, of the ſtudents; ſo that they muſt have been generally known, and indeed were never meant to be concealed. Still oftener I have conſulted with thoſe Phyſicians, and with Dr Cullen, by telling them the circumſtances of the caſes of my Hoſpital-patients, and my doubts and difficulties, without giving them the trouble to viſit my patients. In ſome caſes of peculiar anatomical nicety and difficulty, I have conſulted with Dr Monro about my clinical patients; and in many caſes, as Mr John Bell and his clients might have known, I have had a conſultation about them with the attending ſurgeon, and ſometimes with ſeveral of the ſurgeons.

Whatever exceptions Mr John Bell and his clients may take at the colour of my coat, the cut of my face, or the length of my legs, I preſume they will admit, that I am at leaſt as apt to take my own way, as moſt Phyſicians who have practiſed in the Royal Infirmary, or any where elſe: and therefore, what I was accuſtomed to do, for the moſt obvious reaſons of duty and expediency, I muſt preſume, till I have evidence of the contrary, that my colleagues do on ſimilar occaſions. I do not mean to ſay, that it ever was my practice, or that it is or ought to be theirs, to have recourſe to ſuch conſultations in every caſe of great and urgent danger, or even in every caſe that proved difficult or impoſſible to cure. It was chiefly in caſes of doubt and difficulty with reſpect to the nature of the diſeaſe, that I was anxious to have ſuch conſultations. In a vaſt proportion of unfavourable caſes there is no difficulty in knowing the nature of the diſeaſe, no doubt about what remedies ought to be tried to give the patient his beſt or only chance for recovery, and no doubt that that chance muſt be very ſmall, even though all the moſt approved remedies ſhould

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be tried in ſucceſſion: and as to caſes of very urgent danger, in which there yet may be great hopes from the ſpeedy and vigorous uſe of ſome powerful remedies, there is juſt as little need of a conſultation to tell a Phyſician of competent judgment and knowledge what he ought to do. If a Phyſician ſhould preſume to practiſe in the Clinical, or in any other wards of this Hoſpital, or in any hoſpital, without knowing what were the powerful remedies which ought to be employed in the moſt urgent caſes, his ſituation no doubt would be very embarraſſing; and that of his patients ſtill more ſo. But of ſuch embarraſſment I conceive there is little danger. The number of powerful remedies, which have a direct, or what is called a ſpecific power in curing certain diſeaſes, is very ſmall: infinitely ſmaller than is generally believed. The late Dr HEBERDEN of London, one of the moſt learned and eminent, and what is more to the purpoſe, one of the moſt judicious and candid Phyſicians that ever lived, after a long life ſpent in the practice of phyſic, declared, that he ſcarce knew any ſuch remedies, except quickſilver for the pox, brimſtone for the itch, Peruvian bark for agues, opium for certain convulſions, and Bath water for the crop-ſickneſs of drunkards. He mentions ſeveral other pretended ſpecific remedies, but very honeſtly and wiſely expreſſes his diſtruſt of them; and his doubts whether, beſides thoſe five, (the laſt two of which, however valuable they may be as remedies, ought to be deducted from the number of ſpecifics), there be ten others of ſuch great and almoſt certain efficacy. I am ſorry to ſay, that I do not know quite ſo many; nay not even one ſuch, beſides the few juſt mentioned. Of thoſe few remedies, and of the diſeaſes which may almoſt certainly be cured by them, and of the proper mode of adminiſtering the remedies, no Phyſician can be ſuppoſed ignorant. For want of ſuch ſpecific remedies, the greater, and by far the moſt important part of our practice, conſiſts in employing remedies of *great* and *general* efficacy; ſuch

as bleeding, vomits, purges, and other evacuations; or ſtimulants, ſuch as wine; or ſedatives and anodynes, ſuch as opium; according to the various circumſtances of *many different* diſeaſes. Of ſuch remedies, and their general effects on the body, and conſequently of their important and ſalutary operation in various circumſtances of diſeaſe, no Phyſician can be ſuppoſed ignorant even from the firſt; and his knowledge of thoſe things muſt increaſe every day of his practice. It is poſſible, however, that a Phyſician, eſpecially a young one, who knows perfectly all theſe things, may yet, from a very natural diffidence and timidity, be unwilling to rely on his own judgment, either in thoſe caſes which he conſiders as hopeleſs, or in thoſe in which he expects great benefit from the uſe of violent but dangerous remedies. A few conſultations with his elder and more experienced brethren, if his nerves be not incurably weak, will ſoon put him pretty much at eaſe, in ſuch caſes, by letting him ſee clearly what phyſic *can*, and what it *cannot* do. It is true, that in ſuch caſes, in private practice, conſultations are every day called: but this is not ſo much for the benefit of the patient, as for the ſecurity of the firſt Phyſician himſelf in point of fame and fortune; and alſo to prevent painful reflections in the friends and relations of the patient, who, if the caſe had been truſted entirely to one Phyſician, and had ended fatally, might have imputed the death of their friend to the unſkilfulneſs, the timidity, or the raſhneſs of that one Phyſician. But this kind of precaution never was, and never will be thought neceſſary in hoſpital-practice; and a Phyſician who conſtantly required conſultations to determine what was to be done in the plaineſt caſes of urgent danger, or to aſſure him that nothing could be done to any good purpoſe, in caſes evidently hopeleſs, would be laughed at and deſpiſed for his affectation and folly, inſtead of getting credit for his great modeſty, and extraordinary anxiety about his patients. If any of the Clinical Profeſſors have

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not availed themſelves of the advice and aſſiſtance of their profeſſional brethren, when they had, or thought they had, occaſion for it, it muſt have been entirely their own fault, and not in the leaſt the fault of the inſtitution of clinical lectures in this Hoſpital; which, far from making ſuch conſultations difficult or impoſſible, makes them peculiarly eaſy, and gives opportunities for them every day.

(26.) *At one time fevers, at another palſies, at another time hydropſies or convulſions, are in requeſt.* At all times a great variety of diſeaſes, and even the greateſt variety that can be got, muſt be in requeſt among the Clinical Profeſſors; for the moſt obvious reaſons in the world. Such a variety is moſt intereſting and moſt inſtructive to the ſtudents, and affords the Profeſſors the beſt materials for their lectures. But ſurely no injury can be done to the patients by that ſelection; who never were even ſuppoſed to get fevers or palſies, dropſies or convulſions, for the benefit or the amuſement of the Clinical Profeſſors, and their pupils; but having got ſuch diſeaſes, were received into the Hoſpital for their own benefit, and being received into it, could have no objections to be laid in the clinical wards, inſtead of the common large wards of the Hoſpital; nor any objections to being under the care of Phyſicians who were Profeſſors in the Univerſity, and were obliged to give a minute account of their practice on their hoſpital-patients, inſtead of being under the care of Phyſicians who were not Profeſſors, and under no ſuch obligation to give an account of their practice.

(N° 24.) *Without their purpoſe being obſerved, they can go into the waiting-room, and mark out the moſt dangerous diſeaſes as the ſubjects of their practice.* In this I can ſee no harm at all; and certainly no harm to the patients. It certainly does not make the diſeaſes more dangerous than they were before. The only poſſible danger is to the Profeſſors themſelves, the reſult of whoſe practice in the

the clinical wards, if compared with that of the ordinary Phyſicians in the common wards of the Hoſpital, might appear to the ignorant, and be repreſented by the malevolent, in a light very unfavourable to the Profeſſors. My rule in chooſing patients for the clinical wards, and I preſume the other Profeſſors have followed nearly the ſame, has always been, to take acute caſes, (fevers, inflammations, &c.), in preference to chronic caſes, (palſies, dropſies, convulſions, &c.): and of the chronic caſes, to take always the *worſt*, and moſt urgently dangerous, in preference to the ſlighter and leſs dangerous. My wiſh was to have *aut mors cita, aut victoria læta.* But when ſuch a choice is made of patients for the clinical wards, it *muſt neceſſarily* happen, that a much greater proportion of the patients in them, than of thoſe in the Hoſpital in general, ſhall die under cure. To ſuppoſe otherwiſe, would be not only to ſuppoſe the Clinical Profeſſors much better practitioners than the ordinary Phyſicians of the Hoſpital, which is abundantly abſurd; but further, to ſuppoſe alſo, that the ordinary Phyſicians were ſo ſtupid and ſo obſtinate, as either to be incapable of improving, or determined not to improve, by the more ſucceſsful practice of their brethren: for any particular remedy, or mode of practice, employed with extraordinary ſucceſs by the Clinical Profeſſors, muſt ſoon become known to the ordinary Phyſicians; who, for their own ſake, as well as that of their patients, would be obliged to employ it.

The average proportion of deaths in the Hoſpital in general, has hardly ever been leſs than four, or more than five in the hundred, of all the patients admitted into it. I do not know exactly what the average has been in the clinical wards: but I judge it has been at leaſt ſix or ſeven, perhaps eight, in the hundred; admitting however of great variations, according to the ſeaſon, the weather, and the prevailing epidemics. I know well the two extreme caſes in my own experience: in ſpring 1779, when the weather, in February,

bruary, March, and April, was as mild as it commonly is in ſummer, I loſt but one patient out of ſeventy: a few years afterwards, in three months of very ſevere winter-weather, I loſt twenty out of a hundred and twenty. The latter was four times the uſual proportion of the Hoſpital, the former but the third part of the uſual average. Any perſon, in the leaſt acquainted with the ſubject, will judge at once which of thoſe two courſes of clinical lectures was the better. It was ſometimes ſaid, whether with ſtrict truth or not I never took the trouble to enquire, that, during my attendance as Clinical Profeſſor, no Phyſician's patient died in the Hoſpital, but thoſe under my care. If this were literally and univerſally true, whenever the clinical wards are open, there would be no harm in it to any body: it could only happen from all the patients who were to die being taken into thoſe wards; and it muſt be the ſame to them whether they die in one ward or in another of the Hoſpital. To impute the deaths in the clinical wards as a matter of blame to the Profeſſors, whether on the ſcore of ignorance, negligence, or the trying of dangerous experiments on the patients, waving all thoughts of the illiberality and injuſtice of it, would be as abſurd as it would be to ſuppoſe the ordinary Phyſicians, juſt at that time, and only at that time, endowed with the miraculous gift of curing, or at leaſt of keeping alive, all their Hoſpital patients; and to give them great praiſe for that extraordinary though temporary qualification. No perſon of candour and common ſenſe will ever think a Phyſician reſponſible for the death of his patients; it is only for the neglect or miſmanagement of them that he can juſtly be blamed.

If a Clinical Profeſſor, in the courſe of his attendance in the Hoſpital, ſhould decline taking his equal ſhare with the ordinary Phyſicians of thoſe very dangerous caſes, of which a large proportion muſt be expected to end unfavourably, I ſhould think he acted very diſingenuouſly with reſpect to his pupils, and illiberally with reſpect

to the ordinary Phyſicians of the Hoſpital. His conduct would certainly, and moſt juſtly, be regarded as a vile piece of quackery, intended to impoſe on his pupils, by making them believe that he was much more ſkilful and ſucceſsful in his practice than the ordinary Phyſicians: but I preſume ſuch an attempt could not ſucceed, and would ſoon be reprobated with honeſt indignation.

When I mention thus freely the receiving, whether into the clinical or the common wards of the Hoſpital, patients who muſt be expected to die in it very ſoon, it muſt not be thought that I am either ignorant or regardleſs of the original inſtitution of this Infirmary, and of that clauſe in the charter of it which ſeems to forbid the receiving of any patients into it that could not be cured. This ſurely could not be meant, and it never was underſtood, ſtrictly and literally, as implying that the Phyſicians, on admitting a patient, *ipſo facto*, undertook with confidence to cure him. The meaning of the inſtitution to which I allude was no more, but that this Infirmary was not to be made a receptacle or hoſpital of incurables, to the excluſion of the ſick poor who might be cured if they were admitted into it. In this ſenſe, the regulation in queſtion is undoubtedly proper, as a general direction; though ſometimes there muſt be deviations from it, in favour of ſome miſerable objects, who, if not admitted into the Hoſpital, would ſoon periſh in the ſtreets; but who, when received into the Hoſpital, obtain, for a few days, or perhaps a few weeks, every relief and comfort which their calamitous ſituation requires, or can admit of. Even if this kind of deviation from the general principle were condemned and prohibited, the number of deaths in the Hoſpital would not be much leſſened. In general, it is impoſſible to know at firſt whether a diſeaſe is abſolutely incurable, or till ſome at leaſt of the remedies, uſually moſt ſucceſsful in ſuch a diſeaſe, have been fairly tried: and in the courſe of ſuch trials, many patients muſt certainly die. A Phyſician muſt be very young and inexperienced

inexperienced indeed, if not ſomething worſe, who does not know, that many caſes which appeared ſlight, and very favourable, have yet baffled all the powers of medicine, and proved either ſoon fatal, or permanently incurable: and that many caſes which at firſt appeared extremely dangerous, and almoſt hopeleſs, nay, which for ſome time had baffled the ſkill of Phyſicians and ſeveral powerful medicines, have yet yielded to other remedies, and been at laſt completely cured. In theſe reſpects, the practice of phyſic is juſt on the ſame footing with that of the noble profeſſion of the law. A young lawyer, if he is much of a coxcomb, which is ſaid to be ſometimes the caſe, will be ready to pronounce with confidence, that ſome untried cauſes are certainly good, and others as certainly bad and hopeleſs: but by the time he has been a few years at the bar, and has loſt two or three dozen of cauſes which he thought good, and won nearly as many which he thought bad, he learns to think, if not with more diffidence of his own judgment, at leaſt with more reſpect for the judgment of others, and with due reverence for the deciſions of a court of juſtice.

(No. 25.) *Sometimes when patients having uncommon diſeaſes are received by the ordinary Phyſicians, they are reclaimed by the Clinical Profeſſors, the rightful lords of the manor! This fact* is abſolutely new to me, though I have known the clinical wards for more than thirty years: and as Mr John Bell and his clients have been ſo generally unfortunate with reſpect to the numerous facts which they have aſſerted as confidently as this one, I ſtrongly ſuſpect that they have not been more lucky than uſual in this inſtance. I do not, however, preſume to contradict it poſitively, or to prove the direct contrary of it, as I have done with reſpect to many others of their facts; or to ſhow that it is impoſſible. I humbly leave it to them to prove it if they can. I acknowledge it to be *poſſible* that a Clinical Profeſſor ſhould act in a manner diſgraceful to himſelf,

brutal with reſpect to the patients, and illiberal and inſolent with reſpect to the ordinary Phyſicians; juſt as it is *poſſible* for a Clinical Profeſſor to run mad, or to get drunk, and in that ſituation to go to the Hoſpital and expoſe himſelf. But I am ſure no Clinical Profeſſors could behave in the manner expreſſed by Mr John Bell, on the principle which he has ſpecified, as *rightful Lords of the manor*; for they are not ſuch Lords: on the contrary, they know, and I thought every perſon acquainted with the Hoſpital had known, that they attend in it by the expreſs permiſſion of the Managers, who firſt allowed them *ten*, then *fifteen*, then *twenty* patients, for their eſtabliſhment; and who are unqueſtionably entitled, whenever they ſee cauſe for ſo doing, to reduce the number of their patients to fifteen, or to ten, or to ſhut up the clinical wards altogether, or allot them to the ordinary Phyſicians of the houſe, and forbid any Medical Profeſſor ever to enter it. The point in queſtion is not new or imaginary. For many years the Managers permitted in the Hoſpital a lying-in ward, under the care of the Profeſſor of Midwifery: but having learned by much experience, that this was an improper inſtitution, they very wiſely aboliſhed it. I have no doubt they would do, as they certainly ought to do, the ſame with reſpect to the clinical wards, if ever they heard of the Clinical Profeſſors behaving brutally towards the patients, or inſolently towards the ordinary Phyſicians. I can ſay with confidence, that I never heard of any of my colleagues behaving in that manner; and that I never did or thought of doing ſo myſelf, during all my long attendance as Clinical Profeſſor. I always conſidered the circumſtance of a patient being taken into the common medical wards, under the care of the ordinary Phyſician, as an inſurmonutable bar to my getting him into the clinical ward, unleſs the Phyſician under whoſe care he was recommended him to me as a proper patient; which the ordinary Phyſicians have often done in the moſt liberal and obliging manner; and unleſs the *patient himſelf was willing to*

come.

come under my care, which has not always been the caſe on ſuch occaſions. I ſuſpect (but this muſt be underſtood with a *ſalvo jure* to Mr John Bell and his clients, who are well entitled to prove, if they can, their own fact) that his account of the conduct of the Clinical Profeſſors, which to me appears ſo new and marvellous, is only a rhetorical embelliſhment of what may be ſeen every day on the *admiſſion-liſt*, which is always ſigned by one or other of the ordinary Phyſicians, never by the Clinical Profeſſors. In that liſt, which is the warrant to the matron of the Infirmary to put on the eſtabliſhment, and provide with food and beds, the patients whoſe names are found in it, there is a column for the purpoſe of marking what wards of the Hoſpital the ſeveral patients are to be ſent to, as ſoldiers, ſailors, ſervants, clinical, or medical ordinary. If the Clinical Profeſſor or his clerk get the ſtart of the ordinary Phyſician and his clerk, in the waiting-room, the patients whom he ſelects are marked originally in the admiſſion-liſt as *clinical:* but if the ordinary Phyſician has the ſtart of the Profeſſor, all the *medical* patients are marked originally in the liſt as for the *medical ordinary;* and then, after the Clinical Profeſſor has made choice of the patients proper for his wards, the admiſſion-liſt is amended, by eraſing the words medical ordinary after the names of thoſe patients, and writing clinical in their ſtead: but the patients from the firſt are taken under the care of the Clinical Profeſſor.

(N° 30.) *The firſt Phyſician comes out in November, fills his wards, aſſorts his diſeaſes, writes notes and regular reports of his patients complaints; completes his experiments, lectures on their caſes; and then empties theſe wards, by delivering his patients over to the ordinary Phyſicians, or by actually diſmiſſing them from the houſe.* Every Clinical Profeſſor (I believe) makes it a rule to take in very few new patients for ſome time before he ceaſes to attend in the clinical wards; ſo that, when his time is expired, he may not leave any great number of patients whom it might be inconvenient to his ſucceſſor

ceſſor to keep in thoſe wards, or to the ordinary Phyſicians to receive at once into theirs. This, which cannot be done in the common wards, either medical or chirurgical, *Patet omnibus*, being the fundamental rule and well-known motto of this Infirmary, is eaſily accompliſhed in the clinical wards, by taking in, during the few laſt weeks of the Profeſſor's attendance, only acute caſes, or ſome of the moſt urgent of the chronic. But when it happens that there are in the clinical wards patients labouring under obſtinate chronic diſeaſes, who are ſo uncivil that they will neither die nor recover, ſuch patients as Dr Cullen uſed emphatically to call the *ſtick-faſts* of a clinical ward, in plain common ſenſe, the beſt thing that can be done for them, is to commit them to the care of another Phyſician. This is giving them every chance for recovery; and it is even poſitively enjoined by the rules of the Infirmary, with reſpect to the patients of the ordinary Phyſicians. And as to the convaleſcents, who muſt occaſionally be left by a Clinical Profeſſor in the Hoſpital, it is hardly conceivable that they ſhould ſuffer any injury by going under the care of another Phyſician.

(11.) *It is unqueſtionably true, that the teaching and demonſtrating by experiment the beſt and moſt approved practice, muſt be upon the whole advantageous to the ſick; yet the making profeſſed trial of every practice is not ſo! it is only on the preſumption of general good, that, in this inſtance, experiments, which muſt be a partial evil, are allowed. Innuendo*, that the Clinical Profeſſors, not content with teaching and ſhowing practically on the patients the beſt practice and its good effects, have been accuſtomed to make trial of every practice; which certainly could not be advantageous to the ſick; but that this partial evil with reſpect to them, that is to ſay, an evil which muſt have been hurtful to many and even fatal to ſome individuals, was allowed, on the preſumption that ultimately it would produce ſome general good.

No

No perſon in the leaſt acquainted either with the hiſtory or with the preſent ſtate of the practice of phyſic, can ever give credit to ſuch an inſinuation. Far from believing that the Clinical Profeſſors have been accuſtomed to try *every practice* on their Hoſpital patients, I do not believe that all of them put together, in the courſe of more than fifty years, that the Medical Clinical Lectures have now been continued, have ever tried even the fiftieth part of the various practices, including of courſe the different medicines, that have been propoſed, and even ſtrongly recommended as ſucceſsful, by Phyſicians, from the days of Hippocrates to the preſent time. I doubt much whether all of them put together have tried even the fiftieth part of the medicines which have been recommended in their own time, and actually employed by their own countrymen, by virtue of his Majeſty's Royal Letters Patent, and newſpaper advertiſements, and ſtrong teſtimonials from numberleſs individuals in all ſtations of life, who declared, and even ſwore moſt ſolemnly, that they, or their friends, or families, had been cured by thoſe very medicines. I am ſure at leaſt that no Clinical Profeſſor ever could ſuppoſe that he had any permiſſion from the Managers, or any right, by virtue of his own profeſſion and ſtation, to make ſuch trials of *every practice:* I am ſure alſo that any Profeſſor who ſhould have attempted to make ſuch trials of every practice, on the ſuppoſition that all of them might be good and uſeful, muſt almoſt inſtantly have become an object of contempt and deriſion to his own pupils: and I have no doubt that the fatal conſequences which muſt often have reſulted from ſuch trials of *every practice*, would ſoon have made ſuch a Profeſſor an object of indignation and horror to his pupils and to the public. As a vaſt number of practices, which at different times have been recommended in phyſic, are abſolutely inconſiſtent with one another, no Phyſician can be ſo fooliſh, or ſo ignorant, as to ſuppoſe that all of them could be uſeful, or even ſafe. To employ all of them, at the ſame time, on the ſame patients

tients, or even ſuch a number of them as could be employed, whether inconſiſtent or not, would be ample evidence of inſanity in any Phyſician; and to employ thoſe which had long been exploded as uſeleſs, or reprobated as pernicious, omitting thoſe which have generally, and moſt recently, been eſteemed the moſt ſucceſsful, implying neceſſarily the death of many of the patients treated in ſuch a manner, would be downright murder, even though ſome remote general good were expected from it. But it is evident that no ſuch good ever could reſult from that kind of practice; for which there could be no juſtification, no excuſe, and no reaſon whatever.

The ſame conſiderations are applicable, in their full force, to what Mr John Bell has ſaid, (2). That *it becomes the duty of the Medical Profeſſor to teach practically, not only the genuine practice, but the various theories of medicine.* The Profeſſor may teach, and certainly ought to teach, by his practice in the clinical wards, the beſt practice that he is acquainted with: and when he alſo gives, as he ought to do in his lectures, his reaſons for that practice, or the theory of it, if the reſult, on trial, correſponds to his theory, by a kind of licence of ſpeech ſtrangely illogical, but not quite unintelligible, he may be ſaid to teach practically the genuine or juſt theory of phyſic. But that a Profeſſor ſhould teach practically the *various theories* of phyſic, is impoſſible in point of fact, as well as illogical in point of expreſſion. Suppoſing a Profeſſor ſo mad, or ſo unprincipled, as to attempt, for the amuſement of his pupils, to practiſe according to the various theories of medicine, nineteen in twenty of which he *muſt* know to be falſe, the reſult of his practice *muſt* not only be deſtruction to his patients, but *ipſo facto a refutation* of thoſe theories, which, according to Mr John Bell's account of the matter, it is the Profeſſor's duty to teach.

The ſame conſideration is a ſufficient anſwer to what Mr John Bell has ſaid, (32.), of the clinical department of this Infirmary.

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It is the ſchool, too, where the Phyſician not only practiſes on his fellow-creatures, but inſtructs, at once, hundreds of young men, and extends the errors or benefits of his own practice to diſtant times and countries. This is impoſſible, I mean with reſpect to his *errors*; and one of the many great advantages of clinical lectures is, that a Profeſſor, though deceived himſelf, and unreaſonably partial to certain theories and practices, cannot deceive his pupils, as in his general ſyſtematic lectures on the theory and practice of phyſic he may eaſily do. A ſtudent muſt be either culpably negligent, or incorrigibly ſtupid, who does not ſee what practices employed by the Profeſſor are ſucceſsful, and what are uſeleſs or pernicious. It muſt be entirely his own fault, and ſurely a very great fault, if he follows any ſuch uſeleſs or pernicious practices.

As both the theory and practice of phyſic are notoriouſly very imperfect, it is not to be expected, that the Clinical Profeſſors, any more than that the ordinary Phyſicians of an hoſpital, or other Phyſicians in their daily private practice, ſhall always agree, either in their practice, or in their theory. But every ſuch difference of opinion or practice muſt ſtrongly excite the curioſity and attention of their pupils, and even give them the faireſt opportunities of judging for themſelves what are the beſt of the different practices which they ſee employed, and what evidence there is of the different theories which they hear moſt keenly maintained. On many of the moſt important points both of theory and practice, the ſtudents can find no difference among the Profeſſors: and they will probably find but little difference among them with reſpect to thoſe *general* principles, on which we judge of the degree of credit that ſhould be given to the recommendations of any practice, or any remedy, whether new or old; and conſequently of the expediency of trying it in any diſeaſe for which we are ſenſible that we have no effectual remedy, as is often the caſe, or in which the practice generally found ſucceſsful has failed.

Phyſicians, who have any ſhare of common ſenſe and knowledge of their profeſſion, muſt always diſtruſt thoſe practices, and thoſe medicines, which are moſt ſtrongly recommended as univerſally and infallibly ſucceſsful in particular diſeaſes. Not only almoſt univerſal experience hath ſhown that ſuch encomiums are falſe, and founded on credulity, ignorance, or knavery; but any competent knowledge of the ſtructure and functions of the human body, and of the nature, the progreſs, the ſeat, and the cauſes of many diſeaſes, muſt convince them that there *cannot be* ſuch infallible virtues in the remedies or practices recommended. But when the remedies ſo confidently recommended are kept as ſecrets, for the profit of a few individuals, that kind of diſtruſt, not only among the regular faculty, but among all men of ſenſe, is ſtill more ſtrongly eſtabliſhed: the temptations to fraud and falſehood in theſe caſes are ſo great, and the turpitude of thoſe who have a pecuniary intereſt in the fame of their drugs is ſo glaring, that truth cannot be expected from them.

Any medicine or any practice notoriouſly introduced in conſequence of ſuperſtition, muſt always be diſtruſted by thoſe of our faculty who are themſelves not under the dominion of that ſuperſtition: though it cannot be denied that ſome ſuch medicines or practices, by their influence on the imagination, or by the great faith of the patients on whom they were employed, may now and then have had powerful and ſalutary effects. But this mode of operation of any practices or medicines is ſo precarious, that no Phyſician in his ſenſes will ever riſk the lives of his patients, and at the ſame time his own reputation for underſtanding and profeſſional knowledge, by truſting to them, to the excluſion of remedies of more general and certain efficacy.

Laſtly, Any medicine or mode of practice notoriouſly introduced in conſequence of bad reaſoning, and falſe, or at beſt conjectural, notions of the nature and cauſe of a diſeaſe, muſt always be diſtruſt-

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ed by thoſe of the regular faculty, who perceive the badneſs of the reaſoning, and are aware of the uncertainty, or perhaps the error of the notions that ledto the uſe of them. Even the ſtrong teſtimonials and recommendations which are almoſt always given in favour of every new practice and medicine, are not ſufficient to remove that diſtruſt on the part of a Phyſician, who knows how generally ſuch teſtimonials have proceeded from ſome kind of infatuation, and honeſt deception, not only in thoſe who introduced the new remedies, and who might therefore be thought blindly partial to them, but in thoſe who adopted them, and in thoſe on whom they were employed, and who *bona fide* believed that they had been cured by them.

Yet even that irreſiſtible diſtruſt does not always hinder, nor ought it to hinder, Phyſicians from trying many of the new remedies ſo recommended. There are many very common and deplorable diſeaſes, for which we have certainly no remedy; though perhaps we have plenty of drugs, and various modes of practice, which have been ſaid to cure them. There are ſome diſeaſes for which we have remedies that very generally cure them; which remedies however have often very diſagreeable, ſometimes diſtreſsful or even dangerous effects. A Phyſician is not only juſtifiable in trying, but would hardly be juſtifiable if he did not try, ſome of the new remedies from time to time recommended in thoſe diſeaſes.

Within theſe twenty years a preparation of a mineral ſubſtance, called *Baryta*, or Terra ponderoſa, was ſtrongly recommended by an ingenious and reſpectable Phyſician, the late Dr ADAIR CRAWFORD, as a powerful remedy for the King's Evil; a diſeaſe, in one form or another, perhaps the moſt general, the moſt diſtreſſing, and (including its effects when it falls on the lungs and produces conſumption) the moſt *fatal* that we have in this country. I have no doubt that in Great Britain and Ireland 30,000 people, perhaps

double this number, every year die of the King's Evil in one form or another. For this deplorable diſeaſe at that time we had, and, with ſorrow I muſt ſay, at this hour we have, *poſitively no cure.* Dr Adair Crawford's reaſoning, which led him to try the *Baryta*, and the ſuppoſed analogy of the pretended good effects of ſea-water, were altogether unſatisfactory: but his recommendations of it were very ſtrong, as having been found experimentally ſucceſsful, and were ſoon confirmed by at leaſt as ſtrong teſtimonials from many other Phyſicians. The ſubſtance in queſtion was ſaid to be ſo active, as to have been employed with good ſucceſs, inſtead of arſenic, to poiſon rats. It was therefore neceſſary to uſe it with caution. It has been uſed accordingly ever ſince with due caution by many practitioners; probably by ſome hundreds of us. I believe I myſelf have given it to ſome hundreds, and probably many other practitioners have given it to much greater numbers of patients. The reſult of all this practice, or of many *thouſands* of experiments with it, is a maſs of irreconcileable contradictions. That *many* patients, though *few* in proportion to the whole number who got it, have recovered while uſing it, is moſt certain: juſt as happened formerly to many of thoſe who had the ſame diſeaſe before the Baryta was introduced into practice; and as hath happened more lately to many patients ill of the King's Evil, who did not get that medicine: But the difficult queſtions remain, Did thoſe patients recover in conſequence of it? Did it cure them? or, Were they in any reſpect the better for it? The reſult of my own experiments and obſervations with reſpect to it ſtrongly is, that it is a remedy juſt of the ſame value with the Royal Touch.

Within theſe five years, an herb, called *Digitalis*, or Foxglove, was ſtrongly recommended as a cure for conſumptions; and has been fairly tried in this diſeaſe, I preſume by ſome hundreds of practitioners. I know that I myſelf, within theſe four years, have preſcribed, or concurred in conſultation with other Phyſicians in preſcribing it, to more than 120 conſumptive patients. The general

neral *efficacy* of the medicine was well known: it was known to be ſo *powerful*, that a doſe of it, not larger than a common pinch of ſnuff, might diſorder moſt violently, or very probably kill, a ſtrong man. Yet the foxglove had been much uſed for near twenty years before, as a remedy for dropſy, in many caſes of which it had proved really very uſeful. Phyſicians had alſo learned, from its effects on their dropſical patients, I believe at firſt to their great aſtoniſhment, that the foxglove leſſened very remarkably the quickneſs of the pulſe, bringing it down ſometimes from 120, or 140, to 80, 60, or ſometimes even to 40, or 30, in a minute. This effect of it certainly promiſed to do good in conſumptions, in which great quickneſs of the pulſe, as part of the hectic fever, is one of the worſt ſymptoms: it ſeemed even poſſible, that by that mode of operation it might greatly leſſen, or ſtop altogether, the inflammation and bad ſuppuration in the lungs, and ſo allow the ulcers in them to heal. In a diſeaſe for which we had no remedy; which, in ſpite of all our efforts employed from the hour when the beginning of it is firſt obſerved, proves fatal to three patients out of four; and which, in its advanced or confirmed ſtate, is fatal in at leaſt nineteen caſes out of twenty; there could be no ſcruple about employing a remedy ſo ſtrongly recommended, as having been found practically uſeful; eſpecially as the mode of adminiſtering with ſafety that active and dangerous medicine was by that time very generally known. So to work we went, with great diligence, to try the Foxglove on a large proportion of our conſumptive patients: ſome of whom grew better for ſome time, and a few of whom, I fear very few indeed, have recovered, to all appearance completely and permanently: juſt as uſed to happen, and has continued to happen, to a few of the many conſumptive patients who never got one particle of Foxglove. It ſtill remains *doubtful*, whether, in any circumſtances of conſumption, that boaſted medicine has done any great or permanent.

nent good: but to me it ſeems probable, that in a few caſes it has really been of ſervice; and of courſe that in the ſame, or very ſimilar circumſtances, it may hereafter be uſed occaſionally with ſome advantage; juſt as many other medicines may be, and actually have been. But moſt of us, I preſume, have already ſeen more than enough of its adminiſtration to convince us, that it is *not a cure* for conſumption; that very often it does no good, and ſometimes poſitively does harm, by the great weakneſs, ſickneſs, and oppreſſion, that it produces; ſo as to make it neceſſary to deſiſt from the uſe of it, even in ſome caſes in which it had greatly leſſened the quickneſs of the pulſe.

Though the trials made with thoſe two new medicines proved unſucceſsful, I ſhould think it illiberal and unjuſt to blame me, or any Phyſician, for trying them. But if all ſuch trials were deliberately condemned, as wrong at leaſt, if not criminal, certainly they never could be regarded as any peculiar wrong or crime with reſpect to the patients in the clinical wards of this Hoſpital, or as proceeding, in the ſmalleſt degree, from any permiſſion, real or pretended, given by the Managers to the Profeſſors, to try *every practice*, and all kinds of experiments, on thoſe unhappy patients, for *the general intereſts of ſcience.* Probably all of us, and certainly I at leaſt, uſed or tried both thoſe medicines in the diſeaſes which they were ſaid to cure, in private practice, before we uſed them in the clinical wards, and have uſed them twenty or forty times more in private practice than in the Hoſpital.

With equal frankneſs I ſhall mention two other very celebrated new remedies, for the *not trying* of which I know I have been more blamed by my own pupils and others, than ever I was for all the remedies, new or old, that I have tried in the courſe of my life. One of theſe was another boaſted cure for conſumption, recommended about ten or twelve years ago; namely, the breathing, inſtead of pure air, what might be called (at leaſt comparatively)

tively) foul or tainted air; that is, common air mixed with a certain proportion of ſome kinds of air, (*gaſes*), which by themſelves are unfit for the purpoſe of breathing. The reaſoning that led to this curious practice was abundantly ingenious, but to me appeared as flimſy, and as ſlenderly ſupported, as any that we have in phyſic. Nor was this the worſt of it: for ſuppoſing the theory of conſumption, and of hectic eſpecially, which was given as a reaſon for the practice recommended, and the correſponding theory of the ſea-ſcurvy, to be perfectly true, the moſt obvious practical inference from them was, that, to cure a conſumption, nothing more could be wanted but juſt to put the patient on the common ſea-faring diet, only taking care not to continue it too long, leſt he ſhould get the ſcurvy inſtead of his conſumption. That very diet, which almoſt certainly would give a healthy perſon the ſcurvy in three or four months, ought juſt as certainly to have cured a conſumption in one or two months. This inference had not altogether eſcaped the view of the ingenious author of the new theory and practice: but it does not appear that he ever choſe to put his doctrine to that deciſive teſt. For theſe reaſons, and alſo becauſe the theory as well as the practice recommended were inconſiſtent with what I knew of the good effects of milk and vegetable diet, and of riding on horſeback in our pureſt country-air during our beſt ſummer-weather, (which exerciſe, by the by, had been at leaſt as ſtrongly recommended as an *almoſt certain cure* for conſumption by Dr Sydenham, one of the moſt eminent Phyſicians that ever practiſed in England, as any of the new remedies have been by thoſe who propoſed them), it was impoſſible for me not to diſtruſt ſadly the firſt teſtimonials, ſtrong as theſe of courſe were, in favour of the practice recommended, or to be ambitious of the honour of being the firſt in this country to make trial of it. But as it was ſtill *poſſible* that thoſe teſtimonials might be true, and that the practice might prove a valuable addition to

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the art of phyſic, I was curious to learn how it ſucceeded with others: for I knew that many practitioners would be eager to try it. The *firſt* and the *laſt* piece of intelligence that I received about it, after an interval of many years, were equally edifying and deciſive. The firſt was from one of my own pupils; who tried it with great diligence on ſeveral patients, and was delighted to find that it agreed vaſtly well with them all; and that all of them were much the better for it: but all of them died of their diſeaſe in a few months. This, being interpreted, means, in plain Engliſh, that he and his patients had been much amuſed and gratified for ſome time by the new practice, though this in reality did no good; the diſeaſe running its natural courſe, juſt as it would have done if no ſuch practice had been employed. The laſt intelligence, or rather *no* intelligence that I got of it, within theſe few weeks, was from an eminent practitioner in this city, Mr Benjamin Bell, whom I chanced to aſk whether he had any recent experience of the *pneumatic* practice in queſtion. He ſaid, he had not: but added, that very lately he had put the ſame queſtion to a great London Doctor, to whom he had occaſion to write about a patient, and had received for anſwer, that he (the London Doctor) believed ſomething of that kind had been talked of ſeven or eight years ago; but that he had heard nothing of it lately.

Another new and ſtrongly recommended practice, which I have never tried, is one mentioned in my former Memorial, (page 227.): I mean the uſe of the nitric acid, *(Aquafortis)*, properly diluted, inſtead of quickſilver, (properly prepared), as a cure for the faſhionable diſtemper. It was ſuppoſed, that not the quickſilver, but ſomething (oxygen) united with it when duly prepared for uſe, and ſeparated from it in the body, was the remedy for that diſeaſe. This might be true, for aught that I knew; though the proof of it was by no means complete or ſatisfactory. But it was inſtantly coupled with another ſuppoſition, of which I could ſee neither

neither proof nor probability, namely, that all the good effects generally obtained from the uſe of the common preparations of quickſilver proceeded from the oxygen, and all the bad effects of them from the metal itſelf. As the pure liquid quickſilver may be drunk to the amount of a pound every morning for many days, or perhaps months together, without doing either good or harm, and in fact had been drunk very freely ſome fourſcore years ago by many hundreds of fine people in London, juſt becauſe it was the faſhion, I ſhould have thought it more probable that the bad as well as the good effects of our good old medicine proceeded from the ingredient of acknowledged great activity, than from the one which ſeemed to be inert itſelf, but a convenient vehicle for introducing the other ingredient into the human body. But as theſe cautious ſpeculations were diſregarded, and *aqua fortis*, as containing the ſuppoſed ſalutary oxygen without the ſuppoſed pernicious metal, was freely uſed and ſtrongly recommended as admirably ſucceſsful, I was very anxious, notwithſtanding my diſtruſt of the reaſoning, to get, from practitioners whom I knew, the moſt authentic and impartial accounts of the ſucceſs of the new remedy. One of the firſt to whom I applied for ſuch information was an eminent Surgeon already mentioned, Mr Benjamin Bell: and the firſt intelligence I got from him about it was, that he had already had ſeveral patients who were ſuppoſed and ſaid to have been cured by it; but found to their ſorrow that they were not cured, and were fain to ſubmit to be cured by the old remedy, under his care. This diſcouraging information, and ſome ſimilar inſtances that I have met with ſince, and ſome inſtances of diſtreſſing effects from the Nitric acid, not very unlike to ſome of the bad effects of Mercury, eſpecially on the ſtomach and bowels, have hitherto deterred me from truſting the life, or even the noſe of any patient to the new remedy. Yet I am by no means ſure that it is altogether uſeleſs, even in the diſeaſe for which it has been recommended:

nor can I think a Phyſician blameable, if, in certain caſes of that diſeaſe, he ſhould employ it.

Yet frequent as our diſappointments with reſpect to the virtues of new remedies, whether medicines or peculiar modes of practice, have been; and great as our indignation muſt be at many of our brethren, for their irrational credulity, in firſt allowing themſelves to be deceived, and then in aſſiſting to deceive others, by their careleſs obſervation and too confident teſtimonials of the efficacy of ſuch remedies; we are not *entitled* to reject, and refuſe to try, all new medicines and practices: for this would amount to a reſolution not to allow the practice of phyſic to be improved; though we all muſt feel to our ſorrow, that there are many frequent, ſevere, and dangerous diſeaſes, for which we have no cure, and many others, in which our beſt practice, with the help of all the remedies moſt recommended in them, is but precarious, in ſome caſes failing altogether, and in others proving but imperfectly ſucceſsful.

We are not even entitled to reject, without a trial, the teſtimony of our brethren in favour of practices, the good effects, or mode of operation of which, we are unable to explain. Such is the imperfection of our boaſted ſcience, that the pernicious influence of ſome things as cauſes of diſeaſes, and the ſalutary mode of operation of other things as remedies, are to us equally inſcrutable, and perhaps will ever remain ſo. Yet the bare knowledge of the ſimple unexplained facts, that ſome ſuch things are hurtful, and others of them uſeful, may be of infinite importance: and it is the duty of every Phyſician, in his practice, to avail himſelf of that empirical knowledge.

Of the numberleſs new medicines and practices, which, in the courſe of the laſt century, were introduced with the higheſt encomiums, two have actually been approved and eſtabliſhed by the moſt ample and deciſive experience, as highly ſalutary and important; namely, firſt, Inoculation for the ſmall-pox, introduced by

LADY

LADY MARY WORTLY MONTAGUE about fourſcore years ago; and, ſecondly, Inoculation for the cow-pox, in order to preſerve the perſon ſo inoculated from the ſmall-pox for ever after; a practice introduced by Dr JENNER within theſe five years. Both theſe practices were originally, and the latter of them ſtill is, altogether empirical. The former, when firſt employed, was recommended entirely by the ſtrong teſtimonials of its great ſucceſs: the latter is ſo at this hour. It is a kind of reproach to our *ſcience:* for if all the Phyſicians in Europe were put to the rack, they could not aſſign even the ſhadow of a reaſon why the cow-pox, any more than the great pox, ſhould ſecure a perſon for ever afterwards from the ſmall-pox. The caſe, I believe, is ſomewhat different with reſpect to the good effects of inoculation in making the ſmall-pox mild and ſafe. We certainly know ſome circumſtances about it which contribute to that good effect: but I doubt much whether any mode of preparation before inoculating, or any uſe of the cool regimen after it and during the diſeaſe, be all on which the benefit of inoculation depends. There ſeems to be ſomething about it not yet explained. At any rate, for a long time after it was firſt uſed in England, the benefit of it, aſcertained by experience, was not in the leaſt explained, or accounted for, by medical ſcience. The hiſtory of phyſic does not afford two other ſuch inſtances, of practices, not only not recommended by any ſcience or theory, but ſeemingly each of them a downright outrage on humanity and common ſenſe. To infect a man deliberately with a loathſome diſeaſe, derived from a brute; or wilfully to communicate to a man a very dangerous and loathſome diſeaſe, though taken from another man, in order to preſerve him from the danger of the ſame diſeaſe, might well be called an abſurd as well as a dangerous experiment: and certainly any Phyſicians who ſhould have preſumed to try, or to recommend, ſuch experiments, would ſoon, and moſt deſervedly, have become objects of indignation and horror to their countrymen; if the whole tenor

of their conduct had not ſhewn that they acted uprightly, to the beſt of their judgment, for the benefit of thoſe on whom the experiments were tried.

I can remember, that between forty and fifty years ago, when there were ſtill many doubts and fears and keen diſputes about inoculation for the ſmall-pox, my father took care to get all his children inoculated; partly, as I learned many years afterwards, becauſe he knew that five of his own brothers and ſiſters had died of that diſeaſe; which ſeemed to imply that it was peculiarly fatal, in conſequence probably of ſome peculiarity of conſtitution, in his family. His conduct in getting his own children inoculated, with all of whom it ſucceeded perfectly, enabled him to recommend it generally and confidently; and precluded a number of frivolous and endleſs diſputes about it. I believe his example as well as his precepts contributed much to make the practice of inoculation almoſt univerſal at Aberdeen, where at that time he lived.

Little more than three years ago, in conſequence of the ſtrong teſtimonials which I had ſeen in favour of it, I wiſhed to *try* the inoculation with the cow-pox. It happened that Dr TIERNY, a diſciple of Dr JENNER, was at that time (ſpring 1800) one of my pupils, and had juſt received from him ſome cow-pox matter. The firſt perſon on whom I *tried* it, and the firſt perſon in whom I ever ſaw the diſeaſe, was a child of my own; and this too at the time when his mother was nurſing him. I believe I was the firſt Phyſician in Edinburgh who tried or recommended that practice; which certainly I never could or durſt have recommended to any perſon, if I had not employed it, when I had an opportunity, in my own family. The ſimple queſtion, which, on that ſuppoſition, would have met me at once, muſt effectually have ſtopped my mouth. I ſoon learned that it had been practiſed ſix months before by Dr ANDERSON of Leith, with its uſual complete ſucceſs. Since that time it has become ſo common in Edinburgh, that it is no longer an object

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of alarm, nay, hardly of curioſity, even among the great maſs of the people.

When Phyſicians, in the trials which they make of new medicines and new practices, or in declining to try ſuch remedies, do to their patients, whether in great hoſpitals or in private houſes, juſt what they do to thoſe who are deareſt to them, their patients ſurely have no reaſon to complain of them. Nay, I cannot for my heart conceive what better, or what elſe, they expect, or would have of us. But as Mr John Bell and his clients have been at ſo much pains to convince the public, that the practice of the Clinical Profeſſors, in the wards allotted to them in this Hoſpital, is a *partial evil*, (that is to ſay, a very horrible evil to the unhappy patients who are the ſubjects of it), but that it is *allowed, on the preſumption of general good*, eſpecially in hopes that it will promote the *general intereſts of ſcience*; it is plain, that they think there is ſomething in it that is very bad for the individual patients on whom it is employed, and ſomething in it which ought not to be, and would not be, allowed, were it not on the preſumption of general good, and with a view to promote the general intereſts of ſcience.

On that moſt ſerious point, where the health and the lives of the poor and unhappy entruſted to our care are at ſtake, we ought certainly, without ſcruple, to make uſe of every *friend* and every *foe*.

I ſhould therefore humbly beg of Mr John Bell and his clients, whether friends or foes to mankind in general, and to us Clinical Profeſſors in particular, to be a little more explicit; and to ſpecify what mode of practice they think we ought to follow in the clinical wards, in every reſpect, but eſpecially with reſpect to the trying of experiments, or the employing of very old or very new, of unuſual or of dangerous remedies, *purely for the good of the individual patients* on whom they are employed, and without any regard to

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the general intereſts of ſcience, or to any remote and *general good* whatever. For example, let them ſtate the general principle or rule of conduct that ſhould direct us in the treatment of patients labouring under diſeaſes, for the cure of which reſpectively we have modes of practice or medicines of great and certain efficacy. Let them ſay what we ought to do in thoſe diſeaſes, (if there be any ſuch), for each of which we have *many* certain cures: let them ſay what we ought to do with our patients labouring under diſeaſes for which we have no certain cures, but in which different remedies, of great though precarious efficacy, are occaſionally uſed with ſucceſs: let them ſay what we ought to do in thoſe diſeaſes, for which we are ſenſible that we have no cure, but for which ſome new, and by us untried remedies have been ſtrongly recommended: let them ſay explicitly what they would have us do, in thoſe caſes, in which the remedies that we firſt employed, becauſe we thought them the beſt, proved unſucceſsful, and whether, in ſuch common caſes, they would have us deſiſt from all further attempts to cure the patients, and fairly leave them to their fate, or whether we ought to try other practices and other medicines, new or old, on thoſe patients, in order to give them every chance for their lives; and in what order, or on what principle of ſelection and preference, theſe trials ought to be made. It will be particularly obliging, and not only very uſeful to the patients, but highly gratifying to me, and I dare ſay to all my brethren, if they will favour us with a correct and ample catalogue of all the medicines and practices hitherto known and recommended by Phyſicians, which we ought *not* to employ. To this catalogue I hope they will add, by way of ſupplement, a liſt of ſuch new medicines and practices, hitherto unheard of, but hereafter to be recommended, which we muſt not adopt, nor even try, on any account or pretence whatever. Such directions, admonitions, and catalogues, from a ſet of men ſo well qualified to give them, will be a much more effectual *ſafeguard to the poor* than

than all the charters of the Royal College of Surgeons. On the undeniable principle formerly explained, That whatever is beſt for the patients is alſo beſt for the ſtudents to ſee and learn, and moſt for the eaſe, the honour, and the intereſt of the Profeſſors to do, I can promiſe for myſelf, and without the fooliſh ceremony of aſking them any queſtions, I can venture to promiſe for all my colleagues, that we ſhall be eager to ſtudy the *monita et præcepta medico-moralia* of Mr John Bell and his clients, and happy to profit by them on every occaſion.

Such a work, the product of their joint labours, by explaining and eſtabliſhing the laws or general principles of moral conduct in Phyſicians towards their patients, will in the firſt place refute of courſe thoſe pernicious and deteſtable principles on the ſame ſubject which I had ſtated in my former Memorial, (page 138. to 145.), and in this one, (page 388. to 393.), as part of my introductory Clinical Lecture: and in the ſecond place, it will enable them to convict the Clinical Profeſſors of an infinite number of the moſt horrible atrocities in their hoſpital-practice, of which atrocities, expreſſed by ſtrong but dark hints, Mr John Bell has given no other proof but plenty of points of admiration. Theſe, though very cheap, for they coſt no more than ſemi-colons, certainly have great weight: but till the law be clearly aſcertained, if he and all his clients were ſplit into points of admiration, and ten of theſe were poſted after every word of his Philippic, they could not prove that the law had been violated.

Such a code of medical moral laws, as I humbly crave of thoſe who have ſo highly bepraiſed the Managers of the Infirmary and the Clinical Profeſſors, for a pretended conduct which I ſhould conſider as a groſs violation of the firſt principles of law, of juſtice, of humanity, and of common ſenſe, will ſerve another good purpoſe, in which they are deeply intereſted: It will convince the public that they have ſome kind of moral principle to direct their profeſſional

profeſſional conduct; a propoſition which the whole tenor of Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me, but eſpecially of the praiſes beſtowed on all who permitted, and all who conducted ſuch clinical lectures as he deſcribed, and the approbation and vote of thanks of his clients for that good work, have rendered more than doubtful. The principles avowed in that work will to many well-meaning people appear leſs than nothing in morality; ſomething like a negative quantity in algebra, or debt far beyond the value of a perſon's eſtate.

Not content with repreſenting the conduct of the Clinical Profeſſors as every thing atrocious and horrible, which could be diſtinctly expreſſed in words, or even clearly conceived to be done by Phyſicians to the poor and unhappy entruſted to their profeſſional care, Mr John Bell, like a man of genius, has availed himſelf of the boundleſs power of imagination in thoſe who were to peruſe his Philippic. For example, (27, 28.), *The Hoſpital itſelf, and all its patients, are at the command of the Clinical Profeſſors! They walk in among thoſe patients! look at them! hang their noſological labels and tallies round their necks! and ſend them to their own wards, there to prick off the lines of the prevailing doctrines upon their bodies.*

MACBETH. How now, you ſecret, black, and midnight hags? What is't you do?

WITCHES. A deed without a name.

This has always been regarded, with good reaſon, as one of the fineſt ſtrokes of the ſublime and horrible that even the genius of SHAKESPEARE produced: yet it is but juſtice to Mr John Bell to acknowledge, that he has attained a ſublimity of horror far beyond the reach of SHAKESPEARE himſelf. He has given us *a name without a deed:* and thoſe who have got the name may exert their own imaginations to find a deed correſponding to it in all its horrors. Much as I know of the clinical

nical wards, I muſt own I cannot even gueſs what is meant by *pricking off the lines of the prevailing doctrines upon the bodies of the patients:* nor can I gueſs what is meant by *hanging our noſological labels and tallies round their necks.* It is uſual, and I think it ſhould be an invariable rule, to affix the name of every patient at the head of his bed, both to ſave time and trouble, and alſo to prevent miſtakes: perhaps it would be right to inſert on the ſame card the name of his diſeaſe: for aught I know this may ſometimes have been done; but I never heard, nor do I believe, that any ſuch cards, *alias* noſological labels and tallies, were ever hung round the necks of the patients. To do this would be uſeleſs, and abundantly ridiculous; but ſuch a card could no more be hurtful to a patient than a necklace or a locket hung in the ſame manner. The word *noſological* being one of our technical words, and abſolutely unintelligible to thoſe who are not of our profeſſion, may mean any thing, or every thing, the moſt horrible that a gloomy or a diſordered imagination can conceive. Yet the uſe of our technical noſological names for diſeaſes, inſtead of their common Engliſh names, which the patients and their friends could underſtand, is a matter of delicacy and kindneſs to them, and therefore unqueſtionably of duty on the part of the Phyſician. The principle in this caſe is the ſame as that which leads us, in giving our reports, which are generally in Engliſh, to mention in Latin any circumſtances that might either alarm or offend the patients; and alſo to give almoſt all our preſcriptions in Latin, that the patients in the Infirmary, juſt like thoſe in private practice, may not be diſtreſſed unneceſſarily by knowing what medicines they are getting. Suppoſing, for example, the name of the diſeaſe, as well as that of the patient, to be expreſſed on a card, hung at the top of the bed, there could be no harm in writing *John Black, Hydrothorax;* or *Mary White, Phthiſis;* but it would be very ſhocking to thoſe patients, if the one ſhould read, inſtead of *Hydrothorax*, Water in the breaſt, and the other, inſtead of *Phthiſis*,

Conſumption; for each of them would regard this intimation as ſentence of death.

In the whole of that moſt ingenious, elaborate, and eloquent account, which Mr John Bell has given of the conduct of the Clinical Profeſſors in this Hoſpital, it is plain that he kept ſteadily in view the noble principle, at leaſt as old as Terence, probably as old as Menander,

Nihil est
Quin malè narrando poſſit depravarier:
Tu id quod boni est excerpis; dicis quod mali est.

Never, I believe, was the principle more faithfully applied, or better illuſtrated: but ſtill there was a difficulty, which to men of ordinary genius would have appeared inſurmountable; namely, to procure belief of that marvellous and horrible account, or even to make it credible that the author of it, and his employers and abettors, did themſelves believe it. The expedient employed for this purpoſe by Mr John Bell, and fully adopted and ſanctioned by his clients, is indeed moſt admirable; and to the beſt of my knowledge perfectly original. It conſiſts, as every reader muſt have obſerved, in profeſſing the higheſt approbation of that deteſtable ſyſtem, and beſtowing the moſt fulſome praiſes on the Managers for permitting, and on the Profeſſors for executing, that horrible mode of inſtruction. The quotations from that part of Mr John Bell's Anſwer to me being ample and faithful, every reader may judge for himſelf, whether it was his purpoſe to repreſent the Clinical Lectures really as an innocent and laudable inſtitution, or to make them, and the Profeſſors, and the Managers, and the Hoſpital itſelf, objects of general indignation and horror. To me it does not appear that this can ever be made a ſubject of doubt or diſpute: yet to that moſt horrible account are premiſed the following extravagant compliments (3, 4, 5, 6.) to the Profeſſors, and to the Managers:

nagers: *We hope that no expreſſion of ours will be interpreted as diſreſpectful to that department of teaching and practice, which we conſider as peculiarly honourable to thoſe who fulfil the duty, as the most uſeful part of that courſe of education, which has made this ſchool of medicine esteemed above any in Europe.*

The period was most honourable to the Patrons and Managers of this charity, and ever to be remembered, when, indifferent to vulgar prejudice, and undiſmayed by popular clamour, they permitted this very important department of public teaching to be aſſimilated with their Hoſpital. Regardleſs of every thing but the general interests of ſcience, you received within your walls a department which could bring along with it nothing but public odium.

I firmly believe that the clinical lectures, conducted as they always have been, and I truſt ever ſhall be, are a *very uſeful* part of the courſe of medical education in this ſchool: but I am not quite convinced, nor is it neceſſary at preſent to enquire whether or not they are literally the *most uſeful* part of our medical education. I am ſure at leaſt that ſuch clinical lectures as Mr John Bell has deſcribed, waving all thoughts of the atrocity of them with reſpect to the patients, would be uſeleſs, and worſe than uſeleſs, with reſpect to the ſtudents. None of theſe are ſtudying phyſic as a ſpeculative ſcience of mere curioſity, and wiſhing to know, or perhaps to ſee, all the effects, good or bad, of every practice and every medicine on the human body; juſt as they wiſh to learn all the known effects of heat and mixture in chemiſtry. All of them wiſh to learn the moſt ſucceſsful practice of phyſic, which is to be the ſerious buſineſs of their lives. They might attend many courſes of ſuch deteſtable clinical lectures, and ſee many thouſands of experiments tried on ſome hundreds of miſerable patients, without learning the leaſt of that kind of practice, by the ſucceſs of which they are themſelves to live and proſper. It may be preſumed, that every perſon of good ſenſe, however little acquainted with phyſic, will under-

ſtand this at once, and perceive the truth of it. But it may eaſily be illuſtrated by ſimilar imaginary inſtances in other practical arts, which, like phyſic, depend on ſcientific principles, and have gradually been improved, both by accidental diſcoveries and obſervations, and by well-contrived experiments. If a young man who meant to earn his bread as a watchmaker, inſtead of learning the practice of an eminent maſter, ſhould employ himſelf diligently for ſeven years in ſeeing a conſtant ſucceſſion of experiments with pendulums, and ſprings, and balances, and fuſees, he certainly would turn out a very ſcurvy watchmaker. A youth meaning to be a dyer would probably acquire as little uſeful knowledge of that art, by ſeeing for ſeven years ſome thouſands of experiments annually made with all manner of dye-ſtuffs: and a young brewer, who, inſtead of learning the valuable art of making good ale, ſhould devote the years of his education to ſeeing thouſands of experiments in malting and brewing, would probably have but few cuſtomers, and no cuſtomer more than once. It may be judged, therefore, that I at leaſt ſhould not conſider the fulfilling of that duty, ſo exquiſitely deſcribed by Mr John Bell, as in any degree honourable to the Profeſſors: on the contrary, I ſhould think it infamous, as well as criminal, to have any concern in it. But to judge fully of the merit of Mr John Bell's compliment to the Clinical Profeſſors collectively, and to myſelf individually as one of them, his account of their practice muſt be compared with what I have ſtated very fully and ſtrongly in my former Memorial, (page 138. to 146.), on the ſubject of trying experiments on patients. If what he has ſtated as the very purpoſe of the inſtitution of Clinical Lectures, and the avowed conduct of the Clinical Profeſſors, be true, all that I had ſaid on that ſubject, in my former Memorial, and in my introductory Clinical Lecture, (quoted page 388. to 393. of this), muſt be not only the vileſt falſehood, but the moſt deteſtable hypocriſy. However, I need not be at much pains to vindicate myſelf from ſuch an inference: for every perſon who reads that extract from my introductory

troductory Clinical Lecture muſt admit, that for me, after profeſſing ſuch principles, to have acted in violation of them, that is, to have conducted the Clinical Lectures and Practice in the manner that Mr John Bell has ſo admirably deſcribed, and ſo highly praiſed, would have ſurpaſſed all power of the human countenance.

Laviſh as Mr John Bell has been of his praiſes of the Managers, for their liberal and honourable conduct, in permitting the inſtitution of Clinical Lectures; and for their firmneſs in being *indifferent to vulgar prejudice, and undiſmayed by popular clamour* on that ſubject; he has omitted many other circumſtances, equally true, equally important, and much more to their honour, on that memorable occaſion. He ought undoubtedly to have mentioned, that they were unſhaken by the frequent earthquakes and ſtill more frequent eruptions of volcanos which occurred at that time; that they were unmoved by the daily eclipſes of the ſun and moon, which alarmed every inhabitant of Edinburgh except themſelves; that they were regardleſs of the aſtoniſhing number of ghoſts which uſed to walk the ſtreets at broad noon, to the great terror of the good living people of Edinburgh; and that they were deaf to all the admonitions of the horſes and oxen, who uſed to ſpeak in every field, as fluently as the ableſt lawyers did at the bar. To the beſt of my knowledge and belief, all theſe portentous prodigies were juſt as poſſible, and as true, as that popular clamour, and vulgar prejudice, which he ſo highly bepraiſes the Managers for diſregarding; *innuendo*, that there were ſuch prejudice and clamour for them to diſregard.

It will perhaps appear a very bold, if not a deſperate undertaking, to attempt to prove the *negative* in this caſe, namely, that at the time when the Medical Clinical Lectures were inſtituted, that is, ſeveral years before I was born, there was no vulgar prejudice, and no popular clamour againſt them. Yet, conſidering how generally unfortunate Mr John Bell and his clients have been, with reſpect

ſpect to their moſt important facts, much more ſtrongly aſſerted than the one at preſent under conſideration, it ſeems but a reaſonable and candid preſumption to ſuppoſe that they have been at leaſt as unfortunate on this point; and certainly it would be fair and neceſſary to require of them to give ſome proof of that fact, which is irreſiſtibly conveyed by their *innuendo*. I am ſure I never heard of any ſuch vulgar prejudices or popular clamours having occurred at the time when the Clinical Lectures were inſtituted; and if any ſuch had occurred at that time, I ſhould think it almoſt impoſſible that the memory, the tradition, or the records of them ſhould have been loſt in little more than half a century.

I have examined, with the moſt ſcrupulous care, the records of the proceedings of the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, at that time, and for twelve years afterwards: but in them I can find no veſtige of ſuch things; which, if they had occurred, ſurely *muſt* immediately have become known to the Managers, *muſt* have engaged their moſt ſerious attention, and *muſt* have induced them to explain, as they eaſily could have done, the nature and purpoſe of clinical lectures, in ſuch a manner as to remove all vulgar prejudices, and ſilence all clamours againſt them. As no record of ſuch things, nor any the ſlighteſt alluſion to them, is to be found in the minutes of the Managers, we may infer with much confidence, that no ſuch things ever exiſted.

But further, from many ſtrong and obvious conſiderations, I think it may almoſt be proved, *a priori*, that no ſuch vulgar prejudices and popular clamours *could have exiſted* againſt the new eſtabliſhment of clinical lectures.

Suppoſing, in the firſt place, that the word clinical and the phraſe clinical lectures had never been heard by the good people of Edinburgh before the 1ſt of February 1748, when Dr Rutherford firſt announced to the Managers his intention of reading ſuch

lectures;

lectures; it ſeems to me *impoſſible* that the good people of this city ſhould have taken alarm or umbrage at ſuch an innocent word or phraſe; which certainly could not convey to them the notion of any thing bad, or dangerous, or even experimental; for it would have conveyed to them no meaning at all. That new word *clinical* muſt have been to the vulgar juſt as unintelligible as any word in the Japaneſe language: but certainly their curioſity would have been excited to know the meaning of it; and this curioſity would ſoon have been completely gratified, by the new word being explained in a manner moſt ſatisfactory to them. But in fact the phraſe clinical lectures at that time was not abſolutely new, even to the vulgar of Edinburgh; eſpecially to many who had been patients in this Hoſpital. Many of theſe, and conſequently many more of their friends and acquaintance, muſt, in the courſe of the preceding twenty years, have learned the meaning of it by its uſe and application, juſt as we learn the meaning of all common words and phraſes: and the meaning of clinical lectures, as fixed and learned in that way, muſt have been preciſely ſuch as, on Mr John Bell's own principles, to preclude that perverſe, malevolent, and atrocious meaning, which he has been pleaſed to give it, as ſynonymous with *experimental*. The fact to which I allude is this: For ſeveral years before Dr Rutherford reſolved to begin to give regular courſes of clinical lectures on the caſes of his *medical* patients, Dr Alexander Monro *primus*, as I have been informed by his ſon the preſent Dr Monro ſenior, was accuſtomed to give *occaſionally* clinical lectures on the caſes of ſome of his *chirurgical* patients, when he attended in his turn and operated in this Infirmary. Theſe lectures, and the practice to which they related, though truly *clinical*, Mr John Bell himſelf muſt admit, *could not* have been *experimental*, or by any of the patients ſuppoſed to be ſo; for he tells us expreſsly that he knows of no experiments in ſurgery. As Dr Monro *primus* was the moſt eminent Surgeon in Edinburgh, and probably one of

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the beſt in the world, it may fairly be preſumed that his patients took no offence, either at him or his clinical lectures. That favourable notion of clinical lectures *muſt* neceſſarily have been extended and applied by the patients, and all their acquaintance, to the medical clinical lectures given by Dr Rutherford. The patients, far from having any objections to be under the care of Dr Rutherford in this Infirmary, *muſt* have regarded that circumſtance as a piece of great good fortune to themſelves. Dr Rutherford, at that time, if not the very firſt, was nearly the firſt, I believe ſecond only to Dr John Clerk, in reputation and practice as a Phyſician in this city: and it muſt be remembered, that at the time when he began his clinical lectures, and for more than three years afterwards, all or almoſt all the Fellows of the College of Phyſicians attended by monthly rotation in this Hoſpital. Surely no patient could be ſo irrational as not to think it better for himſelf to be under the care of ſuch an eminent Phyſician as Dr Rutherford, than to take his chance of all the Phyſicians in Edinburgh, good, bad, and indifferent.

When he bepraiſed the Managers ſo highly for permitting the inſtitution of clinical lectures, Mr John Bell ſeems either not to have known, or wilfully to have ſuppreſſed, that the permiſſion given by the Managers, was only that of reading the lectures *in ſome convenient place under the roof of the Infirmary*. Dr Rutherford did not aſk their permiſſion to read *clinical lectures:* it is implied in the intimation which he gave them, that he knew he had a right to read ſuch lectures without aſking their permiſſion; which I have no doubt every Profeſſor of Phyſic had to do, on the caſes of thoſe patients whom he treated during his time of attendance by rotation in the Hoſpital. This right had actually been admitted, and exerciſed, in the inſtance of Dr Monro *primus*, with reſpect to his chirurgical patients in the Infirmary. I doubt even whether the Managers could have prevented the Fellows of the College of Phyſicians

Phyſicians, *not Profeſſors* in the Univerſity, from reading ſuch lectures on the caſes of their Hoſpital-patients, when they attended in their turns. Their right to attend in the Hoſpital was coequal with that of the Managers to regulate its domeſtic economy and pecuniary concerns: it was unqueſtionably eſtabliſhed by the ſame charter. In the title of Doctor of Medicine is implied, and in the Diploma conferring that title there is always expreſſed, the right of teaching phyſic by lecturing or otherwiſe, as well as the right of practiſing it. The Managers could not even have attempted to prevent any of the Phyſicians from reading clinical lectures on the caſes of his Hoſpital-patients, without firſt ſhowing, or endeavouring to ſhow, that ſuch lectures were ſomehow injurious to the patients or to the Hoſpital. This they never could have ſhown: on the contrary, it would have been proved indiſputably at once, that ſuch lectures could not fail to be very much for the good of the patients; and the Managers would of courſe have been laughed at, or worſe than laughed at, for their fooliſh and illiberal conduct.

Dr Rutherford, who had the merit of beginning the Medical Clinical Lectures, had alſo the ſagacity to foreſee of what importance they might become, both to the Infirmary, and to this Medical School: and therefore very wiſely and honourably reſolved to make them, from the firſt, ſubſervient to the pecuniary intereſt of the Hoſpital, by not permitting any ſtudent to attend them, who did not alſo pay to the Infirmary. This was the purpoſe of his intimation, and requeſt to the Managers, and of their permiſſion to him, to have a proper place, under their roof, in which to read his Clinical Lectures. It is ſelf-evident, that theſe lectures might have been read as well, and as eaſily, and much more conveniently, in his common place of teaching in the College. The paſſages already quoted from the minutes of the Managers, (page 404. to 407. of this Memorial), ſhow ſufficiently how the permiſſion of ſeparate wards, and at firſt of ten, afterwards of fifteen, and at laſt of twenty

patients, to the Clinical Profeſſors, came to paſs. This was going on *before* two ordinary Phyſicians were permanently appointed to the Infirmary; and is in fact, though not expreſsly in words, a ſmall remnant of the original ſyſtem of the indiſcriminate attendance of the whole College of Phyſicians: which remnant has been allowed to continue in favour of the Medical Profeſſors, and of their ſtudents, and of the funds of the Hoſpital: and for the good of the public at large. Whatever may be thought of the expediency of permitting the Clinical Lectures to continue, it is evident at leaſt, that, at the time of their inſtitution, the Managers could have neither merit nor demerit in permitting them. It was the act and deed of Dr Rutherford; which they could not have hindered; nor could they have hindered, and therefore it would have been folly, as well as turpitude and guilt, to have permitted Dr Rutherford, and every Fellow of the College of Phyſicians, to practiſe in the way that he thought beſt; that is, to try what remedies and experiments he pleaſed, on the patients under his care in this Hoſpital, during his monthly attendance by rotation.

Suppoſing, however, that there had been a popular clamour and vulgar prejudice againſt Clinical Lectures, as is implied in Mr John Bell's *innuendo*; the Managers, if they had really been indifferent to it, as he inſinuates that they were, far from deſerving any praiſe for ſuch conduct, would have deſerved the greateſt reproach; they would have been guilty of a notorious neglect and breach of truſt, in allowing, not only the pecuniary intereſts of the inſtitution to be materially injured, but even the benevolent purpoſe of it to be in a great meaſure fruſtrated, by the prevalence of ſuch groundleſs prejudices and clamours, to which they could eaſily have put an end, in a manner the moſt honourable to themſelves, moſt beneficial to the Hoſpital, and moſt ſatisfactory to the public.

The principle to which he imputes that *pretended* conduct on their

their part, and for which he bepraiſes them accordingly, is, that they were *regardleſs of every thing but the general intereſts of ſcience.* If they really were ſo; if they were regardleſs of the welfare and of the lives of any of the unhappy ſick poor admitted into the Hoſpital; far from deſerving to be praiſed, they certainly deſerved to be hanged, for diſregarding the general indefeaſible principles of moral conduct, for violating their oath as Managers of the Infirmary, for fruſtrating the benevolent purpoſe of it, for ſacrificing the lives of many of thoſe patients whom they committed to the care of the Clinical Profeſſors, to be made the ſubjects, and occaſionally the victims, of their cruel but ſcientific experiments. The Hoſpital was inſtituted, and the Managers of it were appointed, for the *relief of the ſick poor*; not for the *general intereſts of ſcience*. Theſe no doubt *muſt* eventually be promoted by a well-managed hoſpital; but this eventual benefit *muſt* reſult as a ſecondary object, from the faithful accompliſhment of the firſt and chief purpoſe of ſuch a charitable inſtitution.

It is truly a wonderful, and to me it ſeems a perfectly new invention, to praiſe a ſet of men, of decent character both in public and private life, for doing what they never did or thought of; or could have done without incurring the blackeſt guilt and fouleſt infamy; without making themſelves objects of general indignation and horror, and probably even of exemplary puniſhment. So ingenious a contrivance does infinite honour to the author or authors of it, who ought certainly to take out a patent, to which they are well entitled, in order to ſecure to themſelves, and to the heirs of their talents and virtues, all the profit as well as the praiſe of their own original invention. There can be no doubt that many thouſands, who had not genius enough to think of ſuch an expedient for themſelves, will be eager to employ it on numberleſs occaſions; juſt as many thouſands have very freely employed the leſs perfect contrivance of praiſing thoſe whom they wiſhed to

traduce, for what good they had done; and then, after having thus eſtabliſhed their own credit, in point of veracity and candour, proclaiming, with every poſſible aggravation and reproach, whatever was unfavourable, or could be told in a manner unfavourable, to thoſe towards whom they had diſplayed ſuch exemplary candour and benevolence. *Mrs Candour* (in the School for Scandal) had not the honour of this contrivance, as the illiterate vulgar ſuppoſe. It was in great uſe and good repute long before her time; and generally expreſſed by the happy phraſe of *betraying with a kiſs*, in honour of Judas Iſcariot, who is ſuppoſed to have been the inventor of that mode of complimenting. But there is no reaſon to believe that he ever thought of ſo ſublime a mode of accompliſhing his purpoſe as the one which has given occaſion to theſe remarks; and I dare ſay the proudeſt day of his ſplendid life, he would have given both his ears to have been the author of it. The compliment in this caſe is not a kiſs, but a bite, ſharper and more envenomed than a ſerpent's tooth. From the eaſe and freedom with which Mr John Bell hath availed himſelf of this happy expedient, and from the high approbation which it ſoon met with *from his clients*, as was amply teſtified by their vote of thanks, (moſt unjuſtly expreſſed in the name of the *whole Royal College of Surgeons,)* it may be preſumed that it was not quite ſo new either to him or to them, as it was to me, and to all whoſe opinion of it I have hitherto had occaſion to hear. Long acquaintance, and ſome familiarity, with ſuch things, are neceſſary, to get the better of vulgar prejudices, and to enable a perſon to perceive their merit and to admire them, inſtead of turning away from them inſtinctively with diſguſt and abhorrence.

Vice is a monſter of ſuch hideous mien,
As to be hated needs but to be ſeen;
But ſeen too oft, familiar with her face,
We firſt endure, then pity, then embrace.

If that mode of complimenting have not yet got a name, which I ſuſpect is the caſe, I humbly propoſe that henceforth it ſhall be called, *betraying with a bite.* But this muſt be underſtood with a general *ſalvo jure* in favour of all who may have any claims to the honour of the invention, and any ambition to call it after their own names; and moſt chiefly in favour of Mr John Bell, if he ſhall prove, or even chooſe to aſſert, that it is *bona fide* his own original contrivance. If ſo, I conſent that henceforth and for ever it ſhall be called *complimentary johnbellation.*

Whether the invention be old or new, by whatever name it ſhall henceforth be called, whoever was the author of it, however familiar it may have been to Mr John Bell and his clients, and however much approved by them; it is at leaſt ſo uncommon to hear men bepraiſed for the moſt deteſtable conduct of which they could be guilty, that few people will know at firſt what to think of ſuch praiſes, and of thoſe who beſtow them, and of thoſe on whom they are beſtowed. As I know of no real inſtance which can be employed to explain and illuſtrate the point in queſtion, I muſt take an imaginary one for that purpoſe. I ſhall ſuppoſe an author of ſuperior genius to praiſe a ſet of judges for their meritorious conduct, in always attending ſtrictly to the intereſt of their own families and friends, regardleſs of every thing elſe, even in the diſcharge of their public duty and truſt. No perſon ſurely can be ſo ſtupid as not to ſee the drift and the malevolence of ſuch praiſes. It is unqueſtionably right for every judge, as for every other man, to attend to the intereſt of his family and his friends; as it is for the managers of an hoſpital to promote the intereſts of medical ſcience: but it would be not only wrong, but a ſhameful breach of truſt, and atrocious guilt on the part of judges, or of managers of an hoſpital, to endeavour to promote the intereſts, either of their own families and friends, or thoſe of medical ſcience, regardleſs of their own ſupreme and ſacred duty. Bad as

mankind

mankind may be thought, and violent and inveterate in their controverſies as medical diſputants certainly are, I do not believe that any of them are ſo depraved in principle, or ſo blinded by paſſion, as to think it innocent or praiſe-worthy in any individual, or any ſet of men, to do wrong to ſome, though but a few, in order to do good to others, however many. I ſhould juſt as ſoon believe, that a man who owed L. 1000 in ſmall ſums to five hundred individuals, ſhould think it right to procure that large ſum by robbery, or theft, from one or two perſons, in order to pay thoſe juſt though ſmall debts: but if the lives of theſe perſons were to be ſacrificed, when their property was plundered, for that good purpoſe, the conduct of the perpetrators would ſurely be reckoned incredibly atrocious. Yet this unheard-of atrocity is no more or worſe than what Mr John Bell and his clients have imputed to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, and to the Clinical Profeſſors, and have made the ſubject of their higheſt praiſes. The value of thoſe praiſes, and the purpoſe of them, I ſhould think cannot be miſtaken; but if any perſon does not fully underſtand them, let him conſider what ought to be the limits of that commendable liberality and zeal for the intereſts of ſcience. Would it be innocent and right to ſacrifice, for that good purpoſe, one in a hundred of the patients received into the clinical wards? or one in fifty, or one in ten of them, or all of them? Would it not be equally right, and ſtill more meritorious in the Managers of the Infirmary, to extend that permiſſion of trying experiments to all the other patients in the Hoſpital? Why ſhould it be confined to thoſe under the care of the Clinical Profeſſors? Why ſhould not one in fifty, or one in ten, or one half, or all of the patients received into the Hoſpital, be ſacrificed for the general intereſts of ſcience, without regard to any thing elſe? The power of the Managers extends not beyond the walls of the Hoſpital: but why ſhould not Phyſicians be permitted to

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try all the ſame experiments on all their patients, rich and poor, in private practice? Why ſhould they not be praiſed for all the patients whom in this good cauſe they kill by retail, as Generals and Admirals are for the enemies they kill in wholeſale, for the good of their country?

I truſt therefore it is but juſtice to Mr John Bell and his clients, to ſuppoſe that the whole account which they have given of the purpoſe of clinical lectures, of the manner in which they are conducted, of the merit of the Managers in permitting, and of the Profeſſors in conducting them, is falſe from end to end. But as this is a very tender point, my ſuppoſition is to be underſtood with the moſt complete *ſalvo jure* to them. They are well entitled, and heartily welcome, to repeat and perſiſt in their aſſertions, and even to endeavour to eſtabliſh them by proof: any ſuch endeavour, or even ſuch repeated aſſertions on their part, will ſoon eſtabliſh, beyond all diſpute, ſome propoſitions with reſpect to themſelves, which muſt be very edifying, and deeply intereſting, to the public. They ſurely cannot fail to perceive, that, if they really hold, or even for whatever reaſon profeſs, thoſe principles which I have explained and illuſtrated, and traced to their neceſſary conſequences, they muſt, *ipſo facto*, be underſtood to renounce all claim to public eſteem or confidence. They will not only prove and illuſtrate, in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt manner, my doctrine of the abſolute neceſſity of ſelection among men of their profeſſion, either for hoſpital-duty or for private practice; but will have the merit of pointing out to the public, which I could not have preſumed to do, ſome of thoſe individuals who ought firſt and moſt certainly to be excluded, and held as diſqualified for that ſacred truſt. *Hic niger eſt; hunc tu Romane caveto*; muſt be the univerſal ſentiment and caution with reſpect to every one of them. Any man in his ſenſes, if himſelf or his family were ſick, would as

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ſoon think of calling in a mad dog into his houſe, as a practitioner who held the principles which they have ſo ſtrongly avowed. Certainly no ſuch practitioner ought to be, or ever would be employed, when one of different principles could be found. But they muſt alſo conſider, that the other ſuppoſition, I mean, that they did *not* hold ſuch principles, and did *not believe* their own aſſertions, neceſſarily implies ſome bitter conſequences with reſpect to themſelves; not only deliberate falſehood, but a degree of malevolence, which, for the honour of human nature, I hope is without example; ſuch malevolence, that they were content to make themſelves odious and infamous, in order to make the Clinical Profeſſors and the Managers of the Royal Infirmary ſtill more odious and infamous, and the Infirmary itſelf an object of deteſtation and horror, in the eſtimation of their countrymen. This is more than an accidental view of the cloven foot; it is a complete diſplay of the great owner of it in all his hateful uglineſs.

The ſituation of thoſe of whom he has taken ſuch entire poſſeſſion, and whom he has ſo ſtrongly marked for his own, is indeed deplorable. A dilemma of the ſame direful kind with that ſtated in page 371. but worſe in ſome reſpects, awaits them here. They either believed, or they did not believe their own aſſertions. If they *did not* believe, if they *do not* prove them, they muſt be infamous for aſſerting ſuch atrocious and malevolent falſehoods. If they *did* believe them, and *ſtill perſiſt* in them, and *now attempt to prove* them, they muſt be fiends in human ſhape, who not only delight in guilt and cruelty of the blackeſt kind, and think it praiſe-worthy, but have deliberately done all in their power to make it more extenſive, and perpetual.

Their caſe is as hopeleſs, and fully as much to be lamented, as if they had all, with Mr John Bell at their head, run violently down a ſteep place into the ſea, and been choked in the waters.

It

It would be in vain for me to make any more remarks on their paſt, or to ſuggeſt to them any hints with reſpect to their future conduct; for I am ſure they will pay no regard to any thing that I can ſay to them: but perhaps they will pay ſome regard to the weighty admonition of the wiſeſt of men, in whoſe words I ſhall take my leave of them: "All the ways of a man are clean in his "own eyes; but the Lord weigheth the ſpirits. There is a way "that ſeemeth right unto a man; but the end thereof are the ways "of death."

JAMES GREGORY.

St ANDREW'S SQUARE,
16th June 1803.

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